

Canada Votes: 1935–1988

Canada Votes

1935–1988

Frank Feigert

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This work was conceived while the author was preparing basic materials for a course developed under the auspices of a Canadian Government Faculty Enrichment Programme Grant in 1985. In developing the bibliography there was only one central source, other than official reports, which reported Canadian election data in a detailed fashion. That source, Howard A. Scarrow's *Canada Votes: A Handbook of Federal and Provincial Election Data*,¹ provides federal results at the provincial and riding levels for 21 elections, 1878–1958, and provincial general elections, 1920–1960. The general format of that work is followed in this compilation, with some exceptions.

The present work starts with the 1935 elections, overlapping the Scarrow book for several reasons. First, *Canada Votes* is not as widely available as when first published. Second, the 1935 election represents a watershed of sorts, since the results were so overwhelmingly in favor of the Liberals that one can think of it as a “realigning election” in a certain sense. The Liberals won this and another four straight elections, beginning a period in which they were essentially dominant for almost fifty years. This period is bracketed by the 1988 federal election, won by the Progressive Conservatives. This was the first time since 1953 that a majority government was achieved in two successive elections, and marking two major defeats for the long-dominant Liberals.

What follows might be seen as a proverbial wealth of data. In assembling the information our primary focus has not been on the full exploitation of the data, but on presenting the election returns in as complete and accurate a manner as possible. Some narrative has been provided, principally to provide basic informa-

tion and some contextual background. For instance, many users of this book might have little knowledge of the circumstances surrounding particular elections. Similarly, the returns for individual provinces and regions can be quite meaningless unless they are placed in context as well. Hence, the commentary should be seen as simply introductory in nature.

A great deal is owed to many who assisted in this task. The intellectual debt to Howard Scarrow is evident, but he also provided moral encouragement. The Canadian government grant provided the impetus, as noted above. Mary Williams of the Canadian Consulate General in Dallas was most helpful in steering me to those people and sources who could help me locate the initial data. The federal and a good deal of the provincial data were made available by two staff members of Elections Canada, Christine Jackson, Director of Communications, and her assistant, Claire Charbonneau. I would be remiss if I did not state that they are the most helpful and gracious individuals I have ever encountered in any research. They are models of the patient and helpful government employee I so often encountered in Canada. In this vein, the public affairs personnel of the several provincial and territorial Chief Electoral Officers were always prompt and gracious in providing the missing and most current data which were not otherwise available. Richard Rowson and Mary Mendell, both of Duke University Press, were exceptionally helpful and encouraging in dealing with the production aspects of this work. Two students, Patrick Kirby Thornton and Eric Todd Tracy, assisted in collecting and compiling selected information.

In several respects I have been fortunate in ways which Scarrow could not anticipate.

Some of these will be made more clear in the first chapter regarding data sources. However, the physical management of so much data has been transformed by the development of micro-computers. Bob Brookshire and Tom Madron, both formerly of the University of North Texas Computing Center, were unusually good colleagues in helping me to get started and in ironing out the inevitable problems.

Finally, my wife and children have again proven their good-natured tolerance of my work

habits. They were spared a good deal by the Regents of the University of North Texas who provided a leave so that the better part of the work could be undertaken without the usual distractions.

Frank B. Feigert
January 1989

Note

1. New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1962.

In Professor Scarrow's groundbreaking compendium of Canadian election returns, we find a statement of a problem which has faced students of Canadian politics.

Any Canadian history text can be relied upon to relate which party and which leaders were elevated to office in a given election. The more refined data, however, [are] considerably more elusive, so that anyone who asks such a seemingly elementary question as "How many votes did a party receive at a given election?" had better be prepared to devote a good many hours of research among sources which are not always easily available.¹

Since Scarrow's work was published in 1962, through 1988, there were ten federal general elections, 88 federal by-elections, and 79 provincial and territorial elections. No additional comprehensive collection of such data has been made widely available. Hence, the need for a broadly disseminated source of Canadian election returns, updating Scarrow, seems evident.

Although this work is patterned after Scarrow, there are some significant changes which should be noted by those who use both works in studying changes in Canadian election results. The present work is organized by province and territory in order to facilitate the analysis of changes at these important levels. National election trends, aggregating provincial returns for each year, are summarized only in chapter 2, whereas Scarrow's analysis was organized on the basis of the returns for each election. Both works ultimately report the results of elections at the riding (constituency) level.

Another change worth noting is hidden by the

data. Professor Scarrow had to contend with what was a basic fact of life in analyzing federal election returns for the 1878–1958 period, and that was the absence of party affiliation, as indicated on either the ballot or in the compiled election returns themselves. The enormity of ascertaining the party affiliation, or absence of one for every candidate for each riding in each election, cannot be fully appreciated for those who have not tried it. Fortunately, the author of this present work only had to contend with eight elections in this regard, the seven from 1935 to 1958 in which the two works overlap each other, and 1962 as well.

Why were the 1935–1958 elections checked? Simply, this was done to put the stamp of veracity on Scarrow's work, which had been criticized for alleged errors.² The check was done by using three major sources which were not available to Professor Scarrow. These include lists for absentee members of the Canadian armed forces of candidates and their party affiliations,³ a listing of all members elected to Commons by riding,⁴ and a history of all ridings which includes candidates and their affiliations, if any.⁵ Those errors which were detected were minimal at best.

For 1963 and succeeding elections, candidates' party affiliation was reported in the compiled *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* for each election. These latter reports provide the raw data for federal elections on which this and Professor Scarrow's work are based. It might be added that party affiliation first appeared on the ballot itself in the 1972 election.

One may often think of Canadian parties in terms of the two main parties, Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, plus a significant

third party or two. Previously known as Conservatives, the prefix "Progressive" was added starting with the 1945 election. The two principal third parties, Social Credit and Cooperative Commonwealth Federation/New Democratic Party, are included in all tabulations, whether they ran candidates or not in any particular election. In the case of the CCF/NDP, we list the two together, as the result of a name change which took place in 1961. Although Social Credit has all but disappeared at the federal level, it is included in all riding tables in order to maintain consistency of presentation as well as to identify those constituencies where it has continued to appear.

The tables also include a generic classification of "other" for Independents, other third parties, and those who ran without any party label. In this last case the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* specifically included this as a separate category ("none") starting in 1972, and this is so noted for the annual as well as regional and provincial summaries. Some small confusion can result from this, as Ontario, for instance, elected a candidate listed as "none" in 1984, while some reports might list this and similar persons as "independent." As table 1-1 makes clear, there has never been much of a shortage of third parties.

Quite often, however, as the constituency tables will show, a "party" consists of a single candidate. Another change from Scarrow's format concerns the placement of the by-election results. Rather than placing them at the end, we have summarized them in chapter 2 (National Results). As Scarrow subsequently showed, by-elections can be taken as a measure of public opinion as well as potentially affecting the balance in Commons.⁶ Hence, including them at the national and provincial levels of analysis should make their results easier to interpret.

Also included in summary form are data on voter turnout, organized by year and province. It is worth pointing out that Canada has, as compared to the United States, a significantly higher level of turnout. One reason apparently lies in the manner in which voters are enrolled in each

country. Typically, in the United States, registration is initiated by the voter. That is, the would-be voter has to go somewhere, even if it is to a shopping plaza where a booth has been set up. In Canada, on the other hand, canvassers or enumerators go door-to-door across the nation. Following this, major advertising campaigns are undertaken to advise those voters who had not been enumerated about how they might enroll as voters. Consequently, voter turnout is not only high, but the figures for Canada have a high degree of accuracy.

Turnout is about 6 percent lower when the total adult population is used as the base as against voter lists. This may not be due to errors and omissions on the part of enumerators but because the total population contains approximately that percentage who are ineligible to vote by reason of lack of citizenship or insufficient length of residence in their constituency.⁷

A matter which has some significant import is that of "redistribution" or reapportionment.⁸ Except for the 1959-1963 period after Alaska and Hawaii entered the union, the U.S. House of Representatives has remained constant at 435 members since 1912, when New Mexico and Arizona were included. On the other hand, there has been an incremental growth in the size of the House of Commons. Originally standing at 181 members in 1867, it grew until, for the period on which we report, it ranged from 245 to 295 members. Consequently, the number of Members of Parliament for each province and territory has also varied.

In an earlier era there was a considerable degree of gerrymandering, or drawing of riding (constituency) lines in order to best advantage one party over the other. Qualter has suggested that "all redistributions prior to 1966 were carried out in great haste, with partisan motives dominating all other considerations. . . ."⁹ Since the passage of the 1964 Electoral Boundaries Readjustment Act, the drawing of riding lines has been the responsibility of eleven independent commissions, following the de-

cennial census. Each of these commissions is headed by a judge appointed by the chief justice for each province and the Northwest Territories. Nonetheless, when district lines are drawn, they inevitably have consequences affecting the likelihood of partisan success and the magnitude of that success.

In this light we must point out that, although we provide summary results for each provincial and territorial election, we do not explore these elections on a riding-by-riding basis. Nonetheless, even though federal reapportionments have been removed from the partisan arena, there is still a great deal of gerrymandering within the provinces as regards the drawing of lines for partisan advantage. As Professor Qualter puts it,

until very recent times the gerrymander was a normal weapon in the political battle and if it has now disappeared from the federal scene it is still alive and flourishing in most of the provinces.¹⁰

This factor in provincial elections has been examined principally not in terms of its partisan implications but in the sense of urban-rural imbalances.¹¹

Explanation of Tables

All tables in this work derive from a basic building block. This is the analysis by riding which shows party totals, in absolute terms as well as in percentages. Obviously, this is the most common type of table in the book. Hence, for each province or territory we have such a table for each election year, broken down by ridings. A difficulty of compiling such tables is how to deal with the plethora of “other” party candidates and Independents. In order to standardize the reporting of results, we include for each election, whether at the national, regional, provincial, or riding levels, the results for four parties. These are, respectively, the Progressive Conservatives (Conservatives in the 1935 and 1940 elections), the Liberals, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF, 1935–1958)/ New Democratic Party (NDP, 1962–1988). and

Social Credit. We grant that not all four parties have contested all riding elections, particularly the CCF in its early years, and Social Credit more generally. However, by including these four in a standard format, the data can be easily retrieved and recognized. For that matter, the absence of results can be taken as indicative of a particular party not contesting at the specified level. We also include for all elections a column labeled “other,” which represents both the “other” parties to which we have alluded as well as Independents and (since 1972) those with no party designation. In all provincial and territorial tables for each election, when “others” are indicated, a note at the end of the table indicates how many ridings were contested by each particular party or by Independents. These basic tables for each province and territory for each year are then aggregated at the regional and national levels, showing for all election years the patterns of support for each party in terms of not only votes but also seats won.

From these basic tables we have also assembled the following additional information regarding competitiveness, following the model laid down by Scarrow:

1. Tables on the number of seats contested, retained, gained and lost by each party.
2. Tables on the number of seats won by the victor's margin. Both of these tables are then aggregated for each province and territory. Following this, these tables have been aggregated to the regional level and then to the nation as a whole, as well as for each election year.
3. A summary table showing for each provincial and territorial election the actual number of votes and seats won for all elections since 1935, by year and party. These data are not available for the Northwest Territories, since elections to the Legislative Assembly have been nonpartisan in nature. Such was the case for the Yukon, as well, until 1978.

In a sense, therefore, this book has been assembled from the basic riding totals, aggregating results at the provincial and territorial levels,

then to the regions, and finally to the nation as a whole. Care has been taken to validate the data by disaggregation, checking provincial/territorial as well as national results against the information supplied by the Chief Electoral Officer. In the rare instances where discrepancies have emerged, these have been checked with Elections Canada and are so indicated in notes for the provincial tables for each year.

Organization of the Book

To summarize, the following schematic illustrates the way in which this book is organized, showing the processes of aggregation and disaggregation which have been employed.

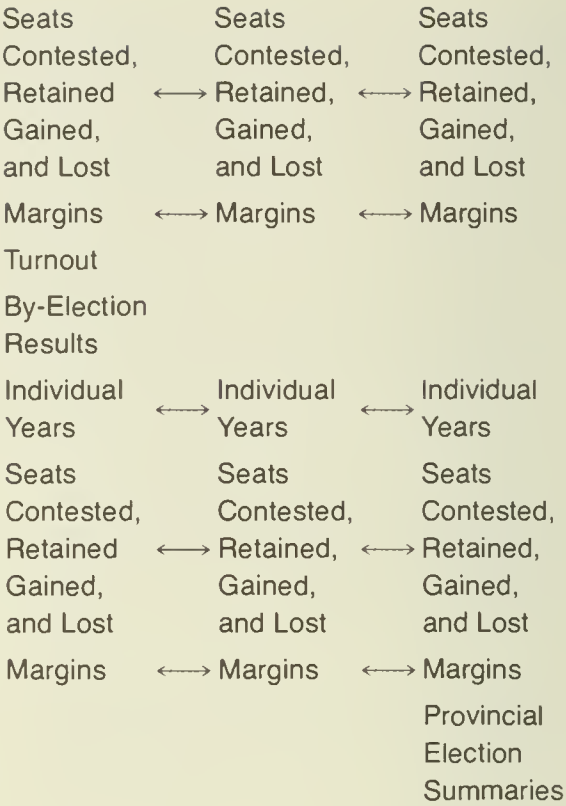
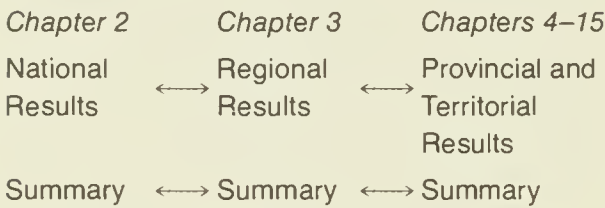


Table 1–1 Abbreviations Indicating Political Affiliations of Candidates, and Years of Appearance on Ballot

Abbreviation	Party Name	Year of Appearance						
		1935	1940	1945	1949	1953	1957	1958
Anti.-Comm.	Anti-Communist	x				x		
Anti-Con.	Anti-Conscription		x					
BPC	Bloc Populaire Canadien			x				
CBC	Cooperative Builders of Canada							
CCF	Cooperative Commonwealth Federation	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
CLE	Candidat Liberal des Electeurs							
CRWP	Confederation of Regions Western Party							
Can. Dem.	Canadian Democrat						x	
Can. Lab.	Canadian Labor		x	x				x
Cap. Fam	Capital Familial						x	
CHP	Christian Heritage Party of Canada							
Chr. Lib.	Christian Liberal					x		
Comm.	Communist	x	x					
Comm'lth.	Commonwealth							
Confed.	Confederation							
Cons.	Conservative	x	x					
Dem.	Democrat			x				
DVP	Droit Vital Personnel							
Elector's	Elector's							x
Esp. Soc.	Esprit Social							

Notes

1. Howard A. Scarrow, *Canada Votes: A Handbook of Federal and Provincial Election Data* (New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1962), p. 1.

2. See Alan C. Cairns, "The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1 (March 1968), 55–80.

3. These went under various names, as follows: "Active Service Voting Regulations" (1940); "The Canadian War Service Voting Regulations, 1944" (1945); "The Canadian Defence Service Voting Regulations" (1949); "The Canadian Forces Voting Regulations" (1953, 1957, 1958); "The Canadian Forces Voting Rules" (1962). All were published by the Chief Electoral Officer, Ottawa.

4. Appendix I in J. K. Johnson, ed., *The Canadian Directory of Parliament, 1867–1967* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1968).

5. *History of the Federal Election Ridings, 1867–1980*, 4 vols. (Ottawa: Information and Reference Branch, Library of Parliament, n.d.).

6. Howard A. Scarrow, "By-Elections and Public Opinion in Canada," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 25 (Spring 1961), 79–91; Barry J. Kay, "By-Elections as Indicators of Canadian Voting," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 14 (March 1981), 37–52; Pippa Norris and Frank B.

Feigert, "Government and Third-Party Performance in Mid-Term By-Elections: The Canadian, British, and Australian Experience," *Electoral Studies* 8 (April 1989).

7. Mildred A. Schwartz, "Canadian Voting Behavior," in Richard Rose (ed.), *Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook* (New York: The Free Press, 1974), p. 557. Whether for the same reasons or not, this is quite close to the results of a limited study sponsored by the Chief Electoral Officer which showed that approximately 95 percent of the eligible voters are enrolled by this method. Personal communication to the author by Christine Jackson, assistant chief of operations (Training and Information), Elections Canada, December 18, 1986.

8. The process of redistribution has been the subject of many works by Norman Ward, most notably *The Canadian House of Commons: Representation* (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963) and "A Century of Constituencies," *Canadian Public Administration* 10 (March 1967), 105–22.

9. Terence H. Qualter, *The Election Process in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 100.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

11. John Anthony Long, "Maldistribution in Western Provincial Legislatures: The Case of Alberta," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 2 (September 1969), 345–55.

Year of Appearance									
1962	1963	1965	1968	1972	1974	1979	1980	1984	1988
x									
x									
								x	x
x									x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
								x	x
x									
		x							
			x						

5 : Introduction

Table 1–1 (Continued)

Abbreviation	Party Name	Year of Appearance						
		1935	1940	1945	1949	1953	1957	1958
Farmer	Farmer			x				
Farm.-Lab.	Farmer Labor		x	x	x			
Franclib.	Franc Liberal							
GP	Green Party							
Ind.	Independent	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ind.A.-Cons.	Independent Anti-Conscription		x					
Ind. BPC	Independent Bloc Populaire Canadien			x				
Ind. CCF	Independent C.C.F.			x				
Ind. Can.	Independent Canadian							
Ind. Cons.	Independent Conservative	x	x					
Ind. Ind.	Independantiste Independent							
Ind. Lab.	Independent Labor			x				
Ind. Lib.	Independent Liberal	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Ind. LP	Independent Liberal Progressive	x			x			
Ind. Nat.	Independent National		x					
Ind. PC	Independent Progressive Conservative		x	x	x	x	x	x
Ind. Recon.	Independent Reconstruction	x		x				
Ind. SC	Independent Social Credit					x		x
Lab.	Labor	x	x	x	x			
Lab.-Farm.	Labor Farmer		x		x			
Lab. Prog.	Labor Progressive	x		x	x	x	x	x
Lab. Soc.	Labor Socialist				x	x		
Lib.	Liberal	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lib.-Con.	Liberal-Conservative						x	
Lib.-Prog.	Liberal-Progressive	x	x					
Lib. Elec.	Liberal des Electeurs							
Lib. Lab.	Liberal Labor	x		x	x			
Lib. Ouv.	Liberal Ouvrier							
Libert.	Libertarian							
M.-L.	Marxist-Leninist							
NDP	New Democratic Party							
Nat'list.	Nationalist			x	x			
Nat. Lab.	National Labor		x					
Nat. LP	National Liberal Progressive		x					
Nat. Soc.	National Socialist							
Nat. Un.	National Unity		x		x			
New Cap.	New Capitalist							
New Can.	New Canada							
None	No party designation							
Ouv. Ind.	Ouvrier independant							
PCR	Party for Commonwealth-Republic							
PDC	Parti de la Confederation							
PDE	Parti de la Democratization Economique							
PNQ	Parti Nationaliste du Quebec							
PWM	Progressive Workers Movement							
Prog. Cons.	Progressive Conservative			x	x	x	x	x

Year of Appearance									
1962	1963	1965	1968	1972	1974	1979	1980	1984	1988
			x						
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
			x						
		x							
x	x	x	x						
x	x	x	x						
	x	x							
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	x								
		x							
				x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x									
		x	x						
	x								
		x	x						
x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
x									x
			x						
		x						x	
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 1–1 (Continued)

Abbreviation	Party Name					
RC Ind.	Independent Ralliement Creu.					
Rad. Chr.	Radical Christian					
RC	Ralliement Creditiste					
Reconstn.	Reconstruction					
Ref.	Reform					
Repub.	Republican					
Rhino	Rhinoceros					
Soc.	Socialist					
Soc. Cred.	Social Credit	x	x			
Soc. Just.	Social Justice					
Soc. Lab.	Socialist Labor				x	
Tech.	Technocrat	x				
Trade Un.	Trade Union				x	
UFO-Lab.	United Farmers of Ontario-Labor	x	x			
UP	Union Populaire					
Un. Elec.	Union of Electors				x	x
Un. Prog.	United Progressive			x		
Un. Ref.	United Reform			x		
Unity	Unity			x	x	
Verdun	Verdun	x				
Vetns.	Veterans	x				

Table 1–2 Representation in the House of Commons General Elections

	1935 1940 1945	1949	1953 1957 1958 1962 1963 1965	1968 1972 1974	1979 1980 1984	1988
Alberta	17	17	17	19	21	26
British Columbia	16	18	22	23	28	32
Manitoba	17	16	14	13	14	14
New Brunswick	10	10	10	10	10	10
Newfoundland		7	7	7	7	7
Northwest Territories			1	1	2	2
Nova Scotia	12	13	12	11	11	11
Ontario	82	83	85	88	95	99
Prince Edward Island	4	4	4	4	4	4
Quebec	65	73	75	74	75	75
Saskatchewan	21	20	17	13	14	14
Yukon	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total Seats	245	262	265	264	282	295

Year of Appearance

1962	1963	1965	1968	1972	1974	1979	1980	1984	1988
			x						
	x								
									x
			x						
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
x	x	x	x						
						x	x		

2 National Results: Individual Elections

As noted in the preceding chapter, we start this analysis with the 1935 elections for several reasons. One was the desired overlap with Professor Scarrow's work. Another was the significance of that election, the first of five won by the Liberals, each of which produced a majority government. In the seventeen elections examined, the Liberals have won or been able to form the government in all but six, those of 1957 (when the Liberals actually won a higher percentage of the vote), 1958, 1962, 1979, 1984, and 1988. Minority governments have been formed six times, three under each of the major parties.

Following their disastrous defeat in 1935, the Conservatives failed to contest all seats until 1958. The Liberals, on the other hand, have been quite consistent in this regard, contesting all but 12 seats since 1935. The two third parties we examine have quite different records. The CCF/NDP has generally contested seats across the nation, in most if not all of the provinces, since it began winning seats and had time to develop an infrastructure. In 1974, for the first time, it contested every seat, just as did the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives. Social Credit, on the other hand, generally confined itself to contesting a limited number of seats, principally in the West, until its expansion into Quebec. It was there, in 1965 and 1968, that it won its greatest number of seats under the splinter faction known as Ralliement Creditiste. Following the disappearance of this faction, it gradually ran fewer and fewer candidates until it virtually disappeared in 1984 with only 0.1 percent of the popular vote, and even less than that in 1988. It is also interesting to note that

there has been a trend of "other" candidacies in recent years, jumping from 61 in 1972 to 239 in 1974 and increasing ever since. From these data it is difficult to tell to what extent, if at all, this may be indicative of discontent within the electorate.

Electoral margins show some contrasting images of party strength. Something less than 20 percent of all contests have, on average, been decided by less than 5 percent of the vote, whereas almost 40 percent have been decided by 20 percent or more. The latter may be somewhat surprising, given the fact of multiple candidacies in the Canadian electoral system. Of interest in this regard is the fact that, since party label first appeared on the ballot in 1972, elections have seemingly become less competitive for the most part.

With this as a brief overview, we now turn to the data for the several elections, and the circumstances surrounding them. (see tables 2-1, 2-2, and 2-3 at end of text)

The Election of October 14, 1935

In the midst of the worldwide depression, the Conservative government of Richard Bennett had lost a series of by-elections. Bennett's government had refused to take action on a series of economic issues, such as the budget, tariffs, and unemployment insurance. Hence, the Conservatives were faced with several challenges. These included the emergence of two new parties, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and Social Credit as well as a one-time breakaway or splinter of the Conservatives, known as Reconstruction. The Liberal

Party was also more than willing to at least talk about taking measures to get the country out of the sloughs of the depression. The Liberals, headed by Mackenzie King, campaigned with the slogan “It’s King or Chaos,” attacking both Bennett’s record and personality.

Consequently, the Conservatives suffered a severe setback, not winning another election until 1957 and only episodically after that. Their vote and seat shares from 1930 to 1935 declined 19.1 percent and 39.6 percent respectively, demonstrating quite well one of the givens of the Canadian electoral system: the distorting effects of multi-partism.¹ Interestingly, although the Liberals were able to gain more than 70 percent of the votes, their vote share actually dropped, from 45.5 percent² to 44.9 percent. Nonetheless, they were able to achieve sufficient strength in enough provinces and regions so as to capitalize on the divisive effects of the third parties which, between them, won more than 20 percent of the popular vote.

One of these, the CCF, was to become a fixture on the Canadian scene, although its initial performance in 1935 in terms of both votes and seats could hardly have foretold this. The CCF contested almost half of the ridings, winning only seven seats while gaining almost 9 percent of the vote. By contrast, Social Credit limited itself to contesting only 40 seats in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia. For their efforts, they netted 4 percent of the vote but won seventeen seats. This established a pattern that was to be followed for years to come, that the CCF, later reconstituted as the New Democratic Party (NDP), would attempt to run on a national basis, but be penalized in terms of the difference between vote and seat share. On the other hand, Social Credit would, for the most part, capitalize on the tendency for third parties to fare better when they concentrate their efforts on a regional basis.³ (see tables 2–4, 2–5, and 2–6 at end of text)

The Election of March 26, 1940

Led again by Mackenzie King, the Liberals won a decisive victory against the Conser-

vatives, running under the temporary label of National Government. Robert Manion, the Conservative leader selected at the party’s 1938 leadership convention, was caught napping by King’s dissolution of Parliament.

Portraying the Conservatives as a party of reaction, King capitalized on a resolution of no confidence in the national government which had passed in the Conservative-controlled Ontario legislature. King concentrated his campaign on a defense of his party’s record and promised that conscription, fiercely opposed in Quebec, would not be introduced. The Liberals captured a clear majority of the popular vote, “marking the first time since 1911 that a single party had been able to win a clear majority of the vote.”⁴ And, with 181 seats to their credit, they ran up one of the strongest majorities in the history of Commons.

At the time the Conservatives were seriously divided on the issue of wartime conscription, and in a financial crisis. Hence, they failed to contest more than 30 ridings, leaving them with the same number of seats (40) as they had won in 1935, and only a marginally improved share of the vote.

The improvement in the Liberals’ position came largely at the expense of Social Credit, which saw a drop in both its vote share (2.7 percent) and in the number of seats won (10), all in Alberta. The CCF, on the other hand, did roughly as well as it had in 1935, winning seats in four provinces. Five of its eight seats were won in Saskatchewan while they lost two seats in British Columbia and one in Manitoba, picking up a seat in Nova Scotia—one of the rare times a third party has won a seat in the Maritimes. (see tables 2–7, 2–8, and 2–9 at end of text)

The Election of June 11, 1945

Headed once again by Mackenzie King, the Liberals entered the election far better organized than did the renamed “Progressive Conservatives,” who did not have a leader in Commons. John Manion, the Conservative leader, had lost his seat in the previous election and had resigned his leadership position accord-

ingly. In 1941 Arthur Meighen of the Senate assumed leadership of the party and contested a February 1942 by-election in York South (Ontario) which was uncontested by the Liberals. However, he lost that election to the CCF, forcing the party on hard times in a leadership sense. In December 1942 the party selected Premier John Bracken of Manitoba as its head, but he declined to seek a seat in Commons, leaving them without a leader in Parliament.

Remarkably, considering these circumstances, the Tories did substantially better in the election than they had five years earlier, dropping from 30.7 percent to 27.4 percent in the popular vote but increasing their seats from 40 to 67. The Liberals were able to form a majority government with 125 seats, down from 181, and their vote decreased from 51.5 percent to 41.1 percent. The CCF may have been the major beneficiary in this Liberal decline, as their vote improved from 8.5 percent to 15.6 percent, and their share of seats increased from 8 to 28. This is reflective of their increasing strength in provincial elections, most obviously in Saskatchewan where they had captured 47 of 53 seats with a clear majority in 1944.

Social Credit continued to be most successful in the West, contesting all of Alberta's 17 seats and winning 13 of these. However, for the first time they began to diffuse their efforts somewhat, contesting 95 seats in seven of the then nine provinces (Newfoundland did not enter until 1949), including 43 seats in Quebec where they did not fare especially well. Notable was the presence of candidates from minor parties, especially so in Quebec. There the electoral picture was clouded in terms of how to classify candidates, especially former members of that party who ran under various labels such as Independent or Independent Liberal. Further compounding the confusion was the emergence of the Bloc Populaire Canadien (as well as Independent BPC), a nationalist party.⁵

Among the issues contested in the election was that of conscription, one which seriously divided the Liberals, especially in Quebec. Reversing their earlier position, the Tories proposed that conscription take place for the

Pacific campaign. The election also centered on postwar economic plans. The Conservatives, having adopted the prefix "Progressive," attacked these plans as overly socialistic. (see tables 2–10, 2–11, and 2–12 at end of text)

The Election of June 27, 1949

Prime Minister King having retired from politics in 1948, the new leader of the Liberals was Louis St. Laurent. The new leader of the Progressive Conservatives was George Drew, premier of Ontario from 1943 to 1948 when he was selected over John Diefenbaker and Donald Fleming at a leadership convention. Notable in this election was the fact that both of the major parties contested virtually every seat, while minor and other parties entered fewer contests than they had in 1945.

The election was called principally to consolidate the position of the Liberals as well as that of their new leader, and in both of these aims they were successful. In addition, the Liberals could be seen as being under pressure from the left in the form of the CCF, who had made major gains in the previous election. Taking the offensive, St. Laurent characterized the CCF as "Liberals in a hurry." The result can be readily described as a landslide, as the Liberals polled almost 50 percent of the vote, and won 193 seats, almost three-fourths of the total. This victory seems to have come at the expense of all of the other parties. The Tories slipped from 67 to 41 seats, and once again polled less than 30 percent of the vote; the CCF slipped from 28 to 13 seats, winning only 5 percent of the vote; and Social Credit also lost three of the seats they had held in Alberta. Of note in this regard is that while Social Credit contested seats in only five provinces as compared to seven in 1945, they ran candidates in 50 Quebec ridings, up from 43, although with no apparent success. Independent and other candidates also fared more poorly than in 1945.

Underlying the election was an economy that the Liberals were able to bring to the electorate in a successful light. As a result of a budget surplus of some \$575 million, income tax reduc-

tions for the middle class were made possible, and these cuts served the Liberals well. Along with this and related issues, the election served in part as a referendum on the Liberals' management of the economy.
(see tables 2–13, 2–14, and 2–15 at end of text)

The Election of August 10, 1953

In what was essentially a replay of the 1949 election, Prime Minister St. Laurent campaigned on the government's record of social services and budgetary surpluses. Countering this, Tory leader Drew ran the campaign on charges of corruption and mismanagement, promising a tax cut and opposing domestic communism.

For the most part, the Liberals were able to repeat their successes of 1949, drawing slightly less than 50 percent of the vote while winning 171 seats, down 19 from 1949. These losses were not in any uniform direction; they went to Social Credit in British Columbia (three seats) and Alberta (two seats), the CCF in Saskatchewan (six seats), and the Progressive Conservatives in Ontario (eight seats). The Tories, up 10 seats to 51, were still unable to advance their share of the popular vote to as much as a third.

The CCF rebounded somewhat, adding fifteen seats to its 1949 total. Its increased strength was seen in Saskatchewan and British Columbia, a province which also provided the basis for Social Credit winning seats beyond Alberta for the first time.

(see tables 2–16, 2–17, and 2–18 at end of text)

The Election of June 10, 1957

Resigning in the autumn of 1956 from the leadership of the Progressive Conservatives on the advice of his doctor, George Drew stepped aside and was replaced by John Diefenbaker of Saskatchewan at a leadership convention. Under Diefenbaker's leadership, the Tories were able to end a string of five straight Liberal victories starting in 1935.

A minority government was formed, with the Tories holding 112 of 265 seats (up 61), showing

gains in all provinces, mainly in Ontario (up 29 seats). Their share of the vote also increased to well over one third, hitting a high of 38.9 percent. The Liberals, while receiving more votes than did the Tories (40.9 percent, down from 48.9 percent in 1953), captured 105 seats, down 66 from 1953. This was, in effect, the beginning of the regionalization of the Liberals into a party which could seldom win west of Ontario (with occasional and rare exceptions such as in British Columbia).⁶ Indeed, 62 of their seats were won in Quebec.

The minor parties generally fared better than they had in the past, principally at the expense of the Liberals. The CCF won 25 seats in four provinces, including seven in British Columbia. Social Credit also picked up two seats in British Columbia

Both parties concentrated on the Liberals' record, Prime Minister St. Laurent pointing to his administration's accomplishments. The Tories labeled this record as dictatorial and arrogant. Ironically, "Dief" was portrayed in this election as the champion of the common man, but he later acquired the same image of arrogance that had been ascribed to St. Laurent.

(see tables 2–19, 2–20, and 2–21 at end of text)

The Election of March 31, 1958

Little more than nine months after establishing his minority government, Prime Minister Diefenbaker headed the Progressive Conservatives in response to a challenge by the Liberals. Lester Pearson of Ontario, the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize winner and past president of the United Nations, had been selected to replace St. Laurent at a January 1958 leadership convention.

Upon his selection, Pearson called for the government to resign, thus playing into Diefenbaker's hand. The Tories claimed that the economic slowdown then besetting the country had been created by the Liberals. Evidently, the combination of Diefenbaker's popularity and a genuine desire for change helped the Tories, as they won 208 seats, an increase of 96. They

also achieved their first popular vote majority (53.6 percent) since 1917, when they had combined with “Unionist” Liberals dissenting on the conscription issue to form what was reported as the “Government.”⁷ The Liberals, on the other hand, won only 49 seats, a loss of 56, and slipped to barely more than a third of the popular vote.

Helping the Tories in this revival was a decline in the fortunes of the third parties. Social Credit won no seats at all, and its diminished position in Alberta and British Columbia helped to add to the Progressive Conservative majority. The CCF also fared less well, losing seventeen of their seats to the Tories.
(see tables 2–22, 2–23, and 2–24 at end of text)

The Election of June 18, 1962

Prime Minister Diefenbaker called the election on the basis of his perceived absence of major issues, a situation which had normally operated to favor the governing party. There were, however, sufficient issues of an economic nature upon which the Liberals could capitalize. These included the devaluation of the Canadian dollar from U.S. \$1.03 to U.S. \$0.925, and an unemployment rate approaching 7 percent. Campaigning for the Liberals, Pearson dwelt on these economic misfortunes, but not successfully enough to capture Commons.

A minority government was formed, with the Tories winning 116 of the 265 seats, a loss of 92, while their popular vote dropped 16.3 percent to 37.3 percent. The Liberals picked up 50 seats, increasing their total to 99, as a result of a modest vote gain from 33.6 percent to 37.2 percent. The New Democratic Party, the label adopted by the CCF in 1960, also gained in this election, moving from 8 to 19 seats with a vote change from 9.5 percent to 13.5 percent. The clear “winner” in the sense of seats gained was Social Credit, going from none at all to 30, of which 26 were won in Quebec, normally a Liberal stronghold. Their vote share also increased sharply, from 2.6 percent to 11.7 percent. Notable in this regard was the fact that

Social Credit contested seats everywhere except in the Yukon, running 212 candidates, up 130 from 1958. This represented a sharp break from its typical strategy of running a limited number of candidates in selected (usually western) ridings.

(see tables 2–25, 2–26, and 2–27 at end of text)

The Election of April 7, 1963

The Progressive Conservative minority government of Prime Minister Diefenbaker found itself unable to govern, with legislation deadlocked. Hence, another election was held after only ten months. Neither party had had a leadership change, and Lester Pearson led the Liberals.

The dominant issues were the absence of majority government and Diefenbaker's record, particularly his stance in opposition to arming Canada's forces with nuclear weapons. The result was the second of three successive minority governments, this time won by the Liberals with the support of three Social Credit members who agreed to support Pearson except on nuclear policy. This was the first of another five successive elections won by the Liberals, until the 1979 election.

The Tories lost 21 seats, down to 95, while their vote share decreased to less than a third again, more or less what they were to continue to get until they captured a majority in 1984. The Liberals can be aptly termed the only winners of the election, as they gained not only 30 seats (to 129) but also in votes, from 37.2 percent to 41.7 percent. Both minor parties lost, but only marginally. The NDP slipped from 19 to 17 seats, while its vote was virtually unchanged. Similarly, Social Credit lost 6 seats, dropping to 24, but with a minimum gain in votes. While Social Credit contested more seats (223) than it had earlier or was to do in the future, it ran a candidate in the Yukon but failed to run in the Northwest Territories, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island. Its major successes were in Alberta and British Columbia, where it retained the two seats won in 1962 in each prov-

ince, and in Quebec. In the latter, it retained 17 seats, gained 3, and lost 9 previously held. (see tables 2–28, 2–29, and 2–30 at end of text)

The Election of November 8, 1965

After more than two years of minority government, Prime Minister Pearson called an election for tactical reasons, feeling that the time was ripe for the winning of a majority. The Progressive Conservatives were again led by John Diefenbaker. In a lackluster campaign which focused on the needs for a majority (Liberals) and national unity (Tories), both major parties were frustrated by an inability to make significant gains, and a third successive minority government was made necessary.

Turnout was down rather sharply for the Canadian system, from 79.2 percent to 74.8 percent. Only Nova Scotia and the Northwest Territories showed any gains. The Liberals and Tories each showed a gain of two seats from the 1963 elections, the Liberals to 131 seats and the Tories to 97. This was accomplished in each instance despite a small loss of popular votes (Liberals, 41.7 percent to 40.2 percent; Tories, 32.8 percent to 32.4 percent). While Social Credit won 14 seats (down 10 from 1963 with a drop of 3.5 percent in the vote), a split leadership foretold worse for the party. In the West, under Robert Thompson, the party won 5 seats, 2 in Alberta and 3 in British Columbia. In Quebec, the breakaway faction of Ralliement Creditiste under Real Caouette won 9 seats, down from 20 in 1963. The party's misfortunes were reflected in its running 161 candidates, a drop of 62. Only the NDP showed any significant improvement. It gained 4 seats, to a total of 21, principally in Ontario, while its share of the popular vote increased to 17.9 percent, up from 13.2 percent in 1963. (see tables 2–31, 2–32, and 2–33 at end of text)

The Election of June 25, 1968

After Prime Minister Pearson retired in 1967 he was succeeded at a leadership convention

by a former Progressive Conservative, Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Quebec. A leadership change had also occurred for the Tories, as Diefenbaker withdrew from consideration after the third ballot at their 1967 convention, to be replaced by Robert Stanfield of Nova Scotia. Having been selected as prime minister, Trudeau called an election, hoping to build a clear majority by capitalizing on his personal popularity. The campaign focused on questions of social justice for Quebec, unification of the Canadian nation, and economic policies. Underlying this was the apparent contrast between Trudeau's youth and charisma versus Stanfield's more conservative personality.

The result was a clear victory for Trudeau's Liberals, ending six years of minority government. Following a redistribution, the Liberals gained 5.3 percent in the popular vote, up to 45.5 percent, and 24 seats, up to 155 of the 264 in Commons. This was to be their high water mark in both regards in the period we cover. Notable in this regard was the Liberals' improvement in the west, gaining seats in a manner they were not to equal again. In Alberta, for instance, they won four seats, which were to be lost four years later. Manitoba showed a gain of four seats, and Saskatchewan added two more to the Liberal total. In British Columbia a total of 16 seats was won by the Liberals, a position of strength they were to never equal again in the period covered. The Tories, on the other hand, while dropping only one percentage point in the vote, to 31.4 percent, lost 25 seats, to a total of 72.

The NDP, contesting almost all ridings, lost nearly a full point in the popular vote but managed to increase its seats from 21 to 22, despite the loss of seats it had previously held in British Columbia and Ontario. This was principally accomplished in Saskatchewan, where 6 seats were gained. Social Credit won no seats at all on its own, losing those previously held in Alberta and British Columbia. Quebec provided 14 seats for Ralliement Creditiste, a net gain of 5 for this splinter of Social Credit. Between the two, 104 candidates contested elections (70

of these under the banner of Ralliement Cédiciste), a drop of 57.
(see tables 2–34, 2–35, and 2–36 at end of text)

The Election of October 30, 1972

More than four years after the last election, each of the major parties entered the campaign with its leadership intact. Several issues dominated the campaign. Included in these was the image of Prime Minister Trudeau as having an arrogant style of government. The Liberal policy of bilingualism was also pictured by the Tories as giving Quebec excessive sovereignty, and as discouraging national unity. Economic problems were also besetting Canada, with an increase in both inflation as well as unemployment—factors which put the Liberals on the defensive.

The results were such that the Liberals were forced to form a minority government once again. They lost 46 seats, bringing them down to 109, with a drop in popular vote from 45.5 percent to 38.5 percent. Their most obvious losses were in the west, where they lost 20 seats and managed to retain only five, four in British Columbia and one in Saskatchewan. Another 28 seats were lost in Ontario, principally by narrow margins. The Progressive Conservative gains were impressive, from 72 to 107 seats, but it experienced only a minor increase in the popular vote, from 31.4 percent to 35.0 percent. A reunited Social Credit won 15 seats, but these were again limited to Quebec, although it contested more seats (165) than it had since 1963, or were ever to do again. The NDP made a significant advance, from 22 to 31 seats, on the basis of a net change in votes of less than 1 percent.
(see tables 2–37, 2–38, and 2–39 at end of text)

The Election of July 8, 1974

After more than a year and a half of minority government, Prime Minister Trudeau felt that the time was ripe to try to win majority control of Commons. Faced with a weakening economy, he probably chose to hold the election before in-

flation got much worse. In attacking the Liberals, Stanfield again led the Tories, charging that mismanagement was responsible for the inflation then gripping the nation. However, their own internal dissension on wage and price controls did not contribute to an image of a party prepared to make hard decisions. The Liberals, on the counterattack, stressed Trudeau's perceived qualities of decisiveness and intelligence.

The result was a dramatic improvement in the fortunes of the Liberals, who were able to increase their hold on Commons by 32 seats, to a total of 141, thus restoring them to majority control and validating Trudeau's strategy. Gains were made and seats held across the nation, with the exceptions of Alberta and the Northwest Territories. Their popular vote increased from 38.5 percent to 43.2 percent. Contrasted with this, the Tories lost 12 seats, down to 95, despite a modest increase in the popular vote from 35 percent to 35.4 percent.

It would appear that the bulk of the Liberals' gains came at the expense of the two minor parties. The NDP suffered only a minor loss in the popular vote, from 17.7 percent to 15.4 percent, but this was sufficient to cost them 15 seats. These losses were principally in British Columbia, where their delegation went from 11 to 2 seats. Social Credit suffered further losses, winning only in Quebec, but losing 4 of the seats it had held there.
(see tables 2–40, 2–41, and 2–42 at end of text)

The Election of May 22, 1979

Having held a comfortable majority in Commons as a result of the 1974 election, Prime Minister Trudeau used almost the full five years allowable before calling the next election. In this time the Progressive Conservatives held a leadership convention, following Stanfield's 1976 resignation and selected Joe Clark of Alberta. This gave Clark ample time to establish an image of a young and personable leader, while the Liberals had to grapple with the problems of government, waiting for an upsurge of popularity that never came. The Liberals had

lost 13 of 15 by-elections in 1978 alone, reflecting their problems with the electorate. This was due in part to the contrasting image of Trudeau as arrogant and argumentative, as well as to being put on the defensive for their record over the last several years. Included in this were scandals leading to three resignations from the cabinet. Hence, the caliber of leadership became an underlying issue for this campaign.

The Tories were able to capitalize on these problems, establishing a minority government with 136 seats out of 282, the latter figure coming about through a redistribution. Although these gains were significant in their own light, they came about largely through some narrow victories in Ontario, since their share of the vote increased only marginally, from 35.4 percent to 35.9 percent. By contrast, the Liberals lost 27 seats from their 1974 totals, going from 141 to 114, with a higher vote share of 40.1 percent, down from 43.2 percent in 1974.

Contesting all seats for the first time in their history, the NDP fared particularly well, gaining back 10 seats to a total of 26, while their popular vote increased from 15.5 percent to 17.9 percent. Social Credit, on the other hand, lost 5 seats, bringing them down to 6, on a popular vote of 4.6 percent. This was to be the last year in this period in which Social Credit was to win any seats in Commons.

(see tables 2–43, 2–44, and 2–45 at end of text)

The Election of February 22, 1980

Once again, a minority government found itself in difficulty and another election was necessary, this time within nine months. A vote on a budget amendment, condemning the government's attempt to deflate the economy, passed Commons by a vote of 139 to 133, and Prime Minister Clark dissolved Parliament on December 14, 1979. The election focused on a variety of issues, including the economy. Foreign policy played a role, especially as regards the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the taking of U.S. hostages in Iran. Prime Minister Clark's government attempted to portray the Progressive

Conservatives as being tough on Soviet aggression. Unexpectedly, the Tories received some public favor when the role of the Canadian embassy in Teheran in smuggling six Americans out of Iran was revealed. Liberal leader Trudeau was also the object of attacks by the Tories, but he kept a low profile, stressing his past record and achievements.

The Liberals were restored to power, winning majority control with 147 seats, a gain of 33 within a year. They did so on the basis of winning 44.3 percent of the popular vote, an increase of 3.8 percent. However, this victory was tainted somewhat by their isolation from the West, winning only two seats in Manitoba. Their base in Quebec was stronger than ever before, as they won all but one seat there. The Tories, on the other hand, saw their vote share slip once again below a third for the first time since the 1968 election, to 32.5 percent, while they suffered a loss of 33 seats, down to 103. The NDP was able to make a gain of 6 seats, up to 32, the highest number they had ever won. In doing so, their share of the vote increased for the second successive time, to 19.8 percent, again the highest vote they had received. Their greatest strength was in British Columbia (12 seats, a gain of 4), Manitoba, and Saskatchewan (7 seats each, or half of each province's delegation). On the basis of only 1.7 percent of the vote, down from 4.6 percent in 1979, Social Credit lost its 6 seats in Quebec, leaving it with no representation in Commons for only the second time since the party's founding.

(see tables 2–46, 2–47, and 2–48 at end of text)

The Election of September 4, 1984

Leadership changes occurred in both major parties prior to the election. At their 1983 leadership convention, the Progressive Conservatives ousted Joe Clark, their previous prime minister, and selected political newcomer, Brian Mulroney of Quebec, who had to win in a by-election in Nova Scotia in order to be seated in Commons. Prime Minister Trudeau resigned shortly before the election and was replaced as

party leader and prime minister by John Turner, a Liberal stalwart who had held a variety of cabinet and sub-cabinet positions since 1963.⁸

Over four and a half years had gone by since the last election, and Turner was forced to defend both Trudeau's program and a number of patronage appointments he had made. Both parties stressed a variety of social programs, such as antipornography and affirmative action legislation. On the latter, Turner was hurt by reports that he had patted two women party leaders. Mulroney stressed tax revisions to make the wealthy pay more and suggested a turnabout in Canadian economic policy vis-à-vis the United States. To this end he emphasized a need for more U.S. development in Canada, and limiting restrictions on U.S. industry. In nationally televised debates, Mulroney appeared to be the "winner" over Turner.

The result was a clear victory for the Tories, in which they received 211 or almost 75 percent of the seats, while receiving 50 percent of the votes. In several respects this was an unusual election. For example, it represented the greatest number of seats won by any party in Canadian history, although the percentage of seats was just marginally behind that which the Tories had received in 1958. It was also only the third time since 1935 that either party had received a majority of the popular vote, the other instances having occurred in 1940 and 1958. The rise in popular vote, from 32.5 percent, is the greatest recorded. The Liberals, by contrast, were reduced to their lowest number of seats ever, again on the strength of an unprecedented low popular vote of only 28 percent. Social Credit having all but disappeared, the NDP emerged with a vote loss of only 1 per cent, to 18.8 percent, and lost 10 seats, but were able to gain 8 back in Ontario, leaving them with 30. (see tables 2-49, 2-50, and 2-51 at end of text)

The Election of November 21, 1988

Prime Minister Mulroney's Tory government underwent some of the most dramatic changes ever to have taken place in terms of public opin-

ion. Bear in mind that they had been elected with 50 percent of the vote. The Gallup Poll one month later, measuring vote intention, had the Tories at 60 percent, but this gradually declined to 23 percent as late as October 1987. At this point the Progressive Conservatives were third in public approval, running behind even the NDP for a fifteen-month period, and losing a series of by-elections in 1987. What accounted for this loss of public confidence in the majority party?

The answer to this is complex, but can be found in part in a series of scandals which led to the resignations of several members of the government. However, the Liberals were not without their own problems. Having survived a leadership review, John Turner then faced a revolt of his party members in Commons, twenty of whom signed a letter asking him to step aside. Questions were also raised about Turner in a widely discussed and most uncomplimentary book, *Reign of Error* by Greg Weston.⁹ Finally, Turner had Liberal members of the unelected Senate withhold ratification of the Free Trade Treaty with the United States, pending the outcome of another federal election.

With his party leading in the Gallup Poll for the first time since March 1986, Prime Minister Mulroney called for an election in September, ostensibly to be a referendum on the Free Trade Treaty. While there is some ambiguity as to whether and where the treaty was popular, Mulroney also campaigned hard on improving economic conditions. These included a sharply lower unemployment rate and increased national productivity. The Liberals were forced to defend Turner's actions in regard to the treaty. The NDP was also in a curious position relative to the treaty and public opinion. On the one hand, they disapproved of the treaty, but attacked Turner's actions as being anti-democratic. For a brief period, in 1987, they also led the two major parties in the Gallup Poll as regards vote intention. When the electorate was queried regarding who they preferred as the next prime minister, Ed Broadbent, the NDP leader, actually led both Mulroney and Turner in several polls.

The volatility of the Canadian electorate has probably never been seen as clearly as in this election. Debates between the three major party leaders produced a temporary lead of more than 10 percent for Turner's Liberals in several polls, and it appeared that they might very well be restored to power. Prime Minister Mulroney, however, campaigned effectively following the debates, deriding Turner's claims that the Free Trade Treaty would cost Canada her economic independence and make the nation a colony of the United States. The Liberal lead gradually evaporated and Mulroney posted a convincing victory over both parties, winning a majority government again. While the seats held by the Tories declined from 211 of 282 to 169 of 295 following a redistribution, and their vote share declined from 50 percent to 43 percent, they were able to capitalize on an especially weak vote share for the Liberals (32 percent) and a strengthening of the NDP from 30 to 43 seats. The election was clearly won for Mulroney in Quebec, where the Tories increased their share of seats from 58 to 63 while losing seats rather broadly elsewhere. Of course, it should be borne in mind that the Tories started with such a significant share of seats, as a consequence of the previous election, that even major losses could leave them with a comfortable majority. And this majority was soon employed in ratifying the Free Trade Treaty.

Leadership reviews faced both Turner and

Broadbent as this volume went to press. On the bright side, each could claim to have led his party to significant improvements over its 1984 showing. However, the Liberals suffered their second worst popular vote showing since Confederation,¹⁰ and the NDP continued to be frustrated by getting barely more than 20 percent of the vote.

(see tables 2–52, 2–53, and 2–54 at end of text)

Notes

1. Alan C. Cairns, "The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada, 1921–1965," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1 (March 1968), 55–80.
2. Howard A. Scarrow, *Canada Votes: A Handbook of Federal and Provincial Data* (New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1962), p. 76.
3. Cairns, op. cit., pp. 59–60; Scarrow, op. cit., p. 89.
4. Scarrow, op. cit., p. 103.
5. Scarrow notes, "So confusing was the election in Quebec that no two sources agree as to the outcome" (op. cit., p. 116). Scarrow had used newspaper campaign accounts, and our own sources substantiate the validity of his classification.
6. See David E. Smith, *The Regional Decline of a National Party: Liberals on the Prairies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).
7. Scarrow, op. cit., table 11, p. 28.
8. A most useful compendium in this regard is *Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation, July 1, 1867–1982* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada and Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1982).
9. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1988.
10. Scarrow, op. cit.

Table 2–1 Votes and Seats Won, by Year and Party

Year	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF/NDP		Soc. Cred. ¹		Others ²		Total Valid Vote	Total Seats
	Vote %	Seats Won	Vote %	Seats Won	Vote %	Seats Won	Vote %	Seats Won	Vote %	Seats Won		
1935	29.6	40	44.9	173	8.9	7	4.1	17	12.5	8	4,406,809	245
1940	30.7	40	51.5	181	8.5	8	2.7	10	6.6	6	4,620,260	245
1945	27.4	67	41.1	125	15.6	28	4.1	13	11.8	12	5,246,130	245
1949	29.7	41	49.5	190	13.4	13	3.7	10	3.7	8	5,848,971	262
1953	31.0	51	48.9	171	11.3	23	5.4	15	3.4	5	5,641,272	265
1957	39.0	112	40.9	105	10.7	25	6.6	19	2.8	4	6,605,980	265
1958	53.6	208	33.6	49	9.5	8	2.6		0.7		7,287,297	265
1962	37.3	116	37.2	99	13.5	19	11.7	30	0.4	1	7,690,134	265
1963	32.8	95	41.7	129	13.2	17	11.9	24	0.4		7,894,076	265
1965	32.4	97	40.2	131	17.9	21	8.4	14	1.2	2	7,713,516	265
1968	31.4	72	45.5	155	17.0	22	4.4	14	1.7	1	8,125,996	264
1972	35.0	107	38.5	109	17.7	31	7.6	15	1.2	2	9,667,489	264
1974	35.4	95	43.2	141	15.4	16	5.1	11	0.9	1	9,505,098	264
1979	35.9	136	40.1	114	17.9	26	4.6	6	1.5		11,455,702	282
1980	32.5	103	44.3	147	19.8	32	1.7		1.7		10,931,977	282
1984	50.0	211	28.0	40	18.8	30	0.1		3.0	1	12,548,921	282
1988 ³	42.9	169	32.0	83	20.4	43	0.0		4.7		13,168,343	295
Totals		1,760		2,142		369		198		51		4,520
Means	35.7	103.5	41.2	126.0	14.7	21.7	5.0	11.6	3.4	3.0		

¹Includes Ralliement Creditiste for 1965 and 1968.

²For 1972 and succeeding elections, includes ballots for candidates with no party designation, shown as "None" in the Reports of the Chief Electoral Officer.

³In this and succeeding tables, results for the November 21, 1988 election are based on the *Preliminary Report of the Chief Electoral Officer*, dated December 13, 1988. The results have been updated to include the January, 1989 second judicial recount of the nation's largest constituency, York North (Ontario). As this volume goes to press, the final *Report* has not been issued. The results may be considered final in terms of several factors: number of seats won by each party; seats contested, retained, gained, and lost by each party; and electoral marginality. However, the final *Report* might show extremely minor variations in total vote received by several candidates.

Table 2–2 National Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP			
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L
1935 ³	245	232	34	2	74	242	80		5	119		6	
1940	245	213	24	16	15	244	140	31	24	96	4	4	3
1945	245	204	34	32	6	242	118		61	205	7	20	
1949 ⁴	262	250	36	6	30	260	112	67		180	9	3	20
1953 ⁵	265	248	30	18	9	264	148		32	170	11	8	
1957	265	257	48	64	2	265	100		71	162	16	4	3
1958	265	265	110	96		265	44		59	169	8		17
1962	265	265	115		91	264	38		9	218	8	11	
1963	265	265	90	5	25	265	95	28	3	232	16	1	3
1965	265	265	83	13	12	265	115		9	249	16	5	1
1968 ⁶	264	264	50	11	21	264	73	26	17	260	10	6	6
1972	264	264	66	40	7	264	105		48	252	18	11	2
1974	264	264	87	8	21	264		34	2	262	13	1	16
1979 ⁷	282	282	70	34	7	282		8	32	282	9	7	1
1980	282	282	102	1	32	282			1	280	18	11	5
1984	282	282	99	106	2	282		1		282	22	8	8
1988 ⁸	295	295	124	5	38	294	20	41	5	295	9	7	4
Totals	4,520	4,397	1,202	457	392	4,508	1,188	236	378	3,713	194	113	89

¹Includes Ralliement Creditiste, 1965 and 1968.

²In this and succeeding tables of this type, there are rare instances in which two or more candidates of the same "party" (usually Independents) compete in the same riding. In order to be consistent with the other categories which are counted on a riding basis, these are counted as one in each instance. Hence, the totals in this and the succeeding column may marginally understate the absolute number of candidates.

³Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 230 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Table 2–3 Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	Winning Party	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935	Lib	19.6	17.6	17.1	12.2	8.6	24.9	245
1940	Lib	18.4	22.4	15.5	8.2	11.4	24.1	245
1945	Lib	20.0	23.3	15.5	12.7	7.3	21.2	245
1949	Lib	22.5	16.8	13.4	10.3	9.2	27.9	262
1953	Lib	19.6	15.8	15.8	10.6	8.3	29.8	265
1957	PC	18.9	18.5	13.6	11.7	12.1	25.3	265
1958	PC	16.3	17.1	11.6	12.4	9.7	32.9	265
1962	PC	22.6	20.0	18.9	12.5	9.1	17.0	265
1963	Lib	23.0	18.5	10.6	14.7	7.9	25.3	265
1965	Lib	16.6	15.5	17.0	12.5	13.6	24.9	265
1968	Lib	19.3	24.2	15.5	9.8	8.3	22.7	264
1972	Lib	19.3	13.3	10.6	15.5	14.0	27.3	264
1974	Lib	12.5	20.1	20.1	13.6	13.3	31.4	264
1979	PC	17.4	9.9	14.5	7.1	6.7	44.3	282
1980	Lib	17.7	12.8	14.5	10.3	5.0	39.7	282
1984	PC	14.5	16.3	13.5	8.2	10.3	37.2	282
1988	PC	25.4	16.9	13.6	10.5	7.1	26.4	295
Means		18.6	17.6	14.8	11.3	9.5	28.4	4,520

Social Credit ¹				Others ²				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
45		17		251	2	5	15	889	108
30	10		7	85	1	5	7	668	55
95	10	3		203	4	12	4	949	71
78	10		3	79	3	2	12	847	78
71	10	5		141	3	2	1	894	43
115	19	5		63	1	3	4	862	82
82			19	48	1		4	829	101
212		30		100				1,059	102
162	22	3	9	36				960	43
161	13	1	11	61		2		1,001	38
99	5	6	4	73		1	2	960	50
165	13	2	1	61	2	1		1,006	60
150	11		4	239		1	2	1,179	44
110	5	1	5	410			1	1,366	40
81			6	499				1,424	34
52				511	1	1		1,409	120
9				668			1	1,561	53
1,717	128	73	69	3,528	18	35	53	17,863	1,122

⁴Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 249 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

⁵Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 244 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

⁶Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 191 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

⁷Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 231 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

⁸Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 196 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Table 2-4 1935—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	1	5.9	40,236	16.9	1	5.9	50,539	21.2			30,921	13.0
British Columbia	5	31.3	71,034	24.6	6	37.5	91,729	31.8	3	18.8	97,015	33.6
Manitoba	1	5.9	75,574	26.9	14	82.4	113,887	40.5	2	11.8	54,491	19.4
New Brunswick	1	10.0	56,145	31.9	9	90.0	100,537	57.2				
Nova Scotia			87,893	32.1	12	100.0	142,334	52.0				
Ontario	25	30.5	562,513	35.3	56	68.3	680,417	42.7			127,927	8.0
Prince Edward Island			23,602	38.4	4	100.0	35,757	58.2				
Quebec	5	7.7	322,794	28.2	55	84.6	623,579	54.4			7,326	0.6
Saskatchewan	1	4.8	65,078	18.8	16	76.2	141,121	40.8	2	9.5	73,505	21.3
Yukon	1	100.0	696	55.6			555	44.4				
Totals and % Seats/Valid Votes	40	16.3	1,305,565	29.6	173	70.6	1,980,455	44.9	7	2.9	391,185	8.9
Rejected Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-5 1935 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained and Lost, by Province and Party¹

Province	Total Seats	Conservative				Liberal				CCF				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	14	1		4	17	1	2	15					18	15			6		9		70	15
British Columbia	16	15	4	1	3	15	4	1	1	16	2		2					18	1	1	1	66	5
Manitoba	17	16	1		10	17	4	10		14	2		6					18		2		71	12
New Brunswick	10	10	1		7	10	2	7										10				30	7
Nova Scotia	12	11			9	12	3	9		11								12				46	9
Ontario	82	80	21	1	33	81	23	33		50								97				308	34
Prince Edward Island	4	4			3	4	1	3										3				11	3
Quebec	65	62	4		20	64	35	17		3								84	4	1		213	21
Saskatchewan	21	19	1		5	21	7	4	2	21	2		20	2				3		1		84	8
Yukon	1	1				1																2	
Totals	245	232	33	2	94	242	80	84	5	130	6		46	17				251	1	5	14	901	114

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 230 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
15	88.2	111,627	46.8			5,190	2.2	17	238,513
		1,796	0.6	2	12.5	27,209	9.4	16	288,783
						37,040	13.2	17	280,992
						19,080	10.9	10	175,762
						43,540	15.9	12	273,767
				1	1.2	223,390	14.0	82	1,594,247
						2,089	3.4	4	61,448
				5	7.7	192,822	16.8	65	1,146,521
2	9.5	61,505	17.8			4,361	1.3	21	345,570
								1	1,251
17	6.9	174,928	4.0	8	3.3	554,721	12.6	245	4,406,854
									45,821
									4,452,675

Table 2-6 1935 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	1	2	2	3	2	7	17
British Columbia	8	2	3	1	1	1	16
Manitoba	3	4	5	2		3	17
New Brunswick	2	1	1	1		5	10
Nova Scotia	3		2	1	2	4	12
Ontario	19	20	15	9	10	9	82
Prince Edward Island			2		1	1	4
Quebec	9	9	8	7	4	28	65
Saskatchewan	3	4	4	6	1	3	21
Yukon		1					1
Totals	48	43	42	30	21	61	245
Percent of Total	19.6	17.6	17.1	12.2	8.6	24.9	

Table 2-7 1940—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta			35,116	13.0	7	41.2	102,060	37.9			35,082	13.0
British Columbia	4	25.0	110,619	30.5	10	62.5	135,920	37.4	1	6.3	103,181	28.4
Manitoba	1	5.9	82,240	26.0	15	88.2	151,480	47.8	1	5.9	61,448	19.4
New Brunswick	5	50.0	74,970	43.4	5	50.0	94,383	54.6			761	0.4
Nova Scotia	1	8.3	112,206	39.8	10	83.3	142,514	50.6	1	8.3	17,715	6.3
Ontario	25	30.5	687,816	42.7	57	69.5	818,154	50.8			61,166	3.8
Prince Edward Island			28,028	44.7	4	100.0	34,664	55.3				
Quebec	1	1.5	231,824	19.8	61	93.8	741,945	63.3			7,610	0.6
Saskatchewan	2	9.5	52,496	14.1	12	57.1	159,530	43.0	5	23.8	106,267	28.6
Yukon	1	100.0	915	53.6			793	46.4				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	40	16.3	1,416,230	30.7	181	73.9	2,381,443	51.5	8	3.3	393,230	8.5
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

1Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-8 1940 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Conservative				Liberal				CCF				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	10			1	17	1	6		15				17	10		5	3				62	6
British Columbia	16	15	3	1	1	15	7	3		16	1		2	1				6	1		1	53	4
Manitoba	17	17		1		17	14	1	1	13	1			4				5				56	2
New Brunswick	10	10	1	4		10	5	2		1								1				22	4
Nova Scotia	12	12		1		12	10			2	6		1					1				31	2
Ontario	82	82	18	7	7	82	49	8	7	24				1				13				202	15
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4				4	4															8	
Quebec	65	53		1	5	65	51	10	4	4				2				46	3	5		170	14
Saskatchewan	21	9	1	1		21	10	2	6	17	2	3		5				2	10	2		62	8
Yukon	1	1	1			1																2	
Totals	245	213	24	16	14	244	151	32	20	96	4	4	2	30	10		7	85	1	5	6	668	55

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
10	58.8	93,023	34.5			4,062	1.5	17	269,343
		506	0.1	1	6.3	12,918	3.6	16	363,144
		5,831	1.8			15,884	5.0	17	316,883
						2,679	1.6	10	172,793
						9,217	3.3	12	281,652
		786	0.1			41,492	2.6	82	1,609,414
								4	62,692
		10,781	0.9	3	4.6	179,337	15.3	65	1,171,497
		12,347	3.3	2	9.5	40,494	10.9	21	371,134
								1	1,708
10	4.1	123,274	2.7	6	2.4	306,083	6.6	245	4,620,260
									52,271
									4,672,531

Table 2-9 1940 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	5	6	4			2	17
British Columbia	5	5	3	1	1	1	16
Manitoba	4	1	2	3	3	4	17
New Brunswick	4	1		1	1	3	10
Nova Scotia	2	4	2		4		12
Ontario	16	18	21	8	9	10	82
Prince Edward Island	2	1		1			4
Quebec	3	8	2	6	7	39	65
Saskatchewan	6	9	3	1	2		21
Yukon		1					1
Totals	45	55	38	20	28	59	245
Percent of Total	18.4	22.4	15.5	8.2	11.4	24.1	

Table 2-10 1945—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	2	11.8	58,077	18.7	2	11.8	67,662	21.8			57,077	18.4
British Columbia	5	31.3	128,529	30.0	5	31.3	117,737	27.5	4	25.0	125,945	29.4
Manitoba	2	11.8	80,303	24.9	10	58.8	111,863	34.7	5	29.4	101,892	31.6
New Brunswick	3	30.0	77,225	38.3	7	70.0	100,939	50.0			14,999	7.4
Nova Scotia	2	16.7	114,214	36.8	9	75.0	141,911	45.7	1	8.3	51,892	16.7
Ontario	48	58.5	756,762	41.7	34	41.5	745,571	41.1			260,502	14.4
Prince Edward Island	1	25.0	30,025	47.4	3	75.0	30,696	48.4			2,685	4.2
Quebec	2	3.1	118,933	8.4	53	81.5	717,776	50.8			33,450	2.4
Saskatchewan	1	4.8	70,830	18.8	2	9.5	123,344	32.7	18	85.7	167,233	44.4
Yukon	1	100.0	849	40.0							584	27.5
Totals and %												
Seats Valid Votes	67	27.3	1,435,747	27.4	125	51.0	2,157,499	41.1	28	11.4	816,259	15.6
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-11 1945 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	16		2		17	2		5	17				17	10	3		13				80	5
British Columbia	16	15	2	3	2	15	5		5	16	1	3		9				21	1	1		76	7
Manitoba	17	17	1	1		17	10		5	17	1	4		8				8				67	5
New Brunswick	10	9	3		2	10	5	2		8				1				1				29	1
Nova Scotia	12	12	1	1		12	9		1	12	1							5				41	1
Ontario	82	82	25	23		82	34		23	80				8				33				285	23
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4				4	4			4												12	
Quebec	65	29		2	1	64	47	3	13	29				43				118	2	11	2	283	16
Saskatchewan	21	19	1		1	21	2		10	21	5	13		9				4			2	74	13
Yukon	1	1	1							1								1				3	
Totals	245	204	34	32	6	242	118	5	62	205	8	20		95	10	3		204	3	12	4	950	71

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
13	76.5	113,821	36.6			14,136	4.5	17	310,773
		9,890	2.3	2	12.5	46,340	10.8	16	428,441
		10,322	3.2			18,435	5.7	17	322,815
		2,300	1.1			6,423	3.2	10	201,886
						2,650	0.9	12	310,667
		3,906	0.1			48,226	2.7	82	1,814,967
								4	63,406
		63,310	4.5	10	15.4	480,700	34.0	65	1,414,169
		11,449	3.0			4,030	1.1	21	376,886
						687	32.4	1	2,120
13	5.3	214,998	4.1	12	4.9	621,627	11.8	245	5,246,130
									59,063
									5,305,193

Table 2-12 1945 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	1	3	4	4	2	3	17
British Columbia	4	8	1		1	2	16
Manitoba	3	7	3	1	1	2	17
New Brunswick	2	2	2	1		3	10
Nova Scotia	4	1	3	2	1	1	12
Ontario	18	24	11	9	7	13	82
Prince Edward Island	4						4
Quebec	8	7	9	9	5	27	65
Saskatchewan	5	5	4	5	1	1	21
Yukon			1				1
Totals	49	57	38	31	18	52	245
Percent of Total	20.0	23.3	15.5	12.7	7.3	21.2	

Table 2-13 1949—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	2	11.8	56,947	16.8	5	29.4	116,647	34.5			31,329	9.3
British Columbia	3	16.7	128,620	27.9	11	61.1	169,018	36.7	3	16.7	145,442	31.5
Manitoba	1	6.3	70,689	22.0	12	75.0	153,857	47.9	3	18.8	83,176	25.9
New Brunswick	2	20.0	88,049	39.4	8	80.0	120,369	53.8			9,450	4.2
Newfoundland	2	28.6	29,203	27.9	5	71.4	75,235	71.9			197	0.2
Nova Scotia	2	15.4	126,365	37.5	10	76.9	177,680	52.7	1	7.7	33,333	9.9
Ontario	25	30.1	757,210	37.4	56	67.5	924,231	45.7	1	1.2	306,551	15.2
Prince Edward Island	1	25.0	32,989	48.4	3	75.0	33,480	49.2			1,626	2.4
Quebec	2	2.7	392,530	24.6	68	93.2	961,974	60.4			17,767	1.1
Saskatchewan	1	5.0	53,624	14.4	14	70.0	161,887	43.4	5	25.0	152,399	40.9
Yukon					1	100.0	3,284	49.0			1,140	17.0
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	41	15.6	1,736,226	29.7	193	73.7	2,897,662	49.5	13	5.0	782,410	13.4
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-14 1949 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party¹

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	14	2			17	2	3		13				17	10	3		4				65	3
British Columbia	18	15	2		2	16	4	6		18	2	1	4	2				5	1		1	56	7
Manitoba	16	15	1		1	16	7	5	1	14	2	1	4					5				50	6
New Brunswick	10	10	2		1	10	7	1		6								3				29	1
Newfoundland	7	7		2		7				1												15	7
Nova Scotia	13	13	2		1	13	8	1		9												35	1
Ontario	83	83	26		22	83	32	21	1	76		1		5				19		1		266	23
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4	1			4	3		2	2												10	
Quebec	73	69		2	2	73	48	12	2	20				50				41	1	1	11	253	15
Saskatchewan	20	20	1			20	2	12		20	5		12	4				2				66	12
Yukon	1				1	1			1	1								1				3	1
Totals	262	250	37	4	30	260	113	67	6	180	9	3	20	78	10		3	80	2	2	12	848	76

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 249 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
10	58.8	126,409	37.4			6,799	2.0	17	338,131
		2,109	0.5	1	5.6	15,879	3.4	18	461,068
						13,189	4.1	16	320,911
						5,789	2.6	10	223,657
								7	104,635
								13	337,378
		3,225	0.1	1	1.2	30,957	1.5	83	2,022,174
								4	68,095
		80,990	5.1	3	4.1	140,039	8.8	73	1,593,300
		3,474	0.9			1,531	0.4	20	372,915
						2,283	34.0	1	6,707
10	3.8	216,207	3.7	5	1.9	216,466	3.7	262	5,848,971
									54,601
									5,903,572

Table 2-15 1949 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0— 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	4	1	2	5	4	1	17
British Columbia	2	5	3	4	1	3	18
Manitoba	5		1	2	3	5	16
New Brunswick	3	1	1	1	2	2	10
Newfoundland	1		1			5	7
Nova Scotia	3	5			2	3	13
Ontario	24	18	20	3	6	12	83
Prince Edward Island	3	1					4
Quebec	11	3	4	10	4	41	73
Saskatchewan	3	10	3	1	2	1	20
Yukon				1			1
Totals	59	44	35	27	24	73	262
Percent of Total	22.5	16.8	13.4	10.3	9.2	27.9	

Table 2–16 1953—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	2	11.8	49,450	14.5	4	23.5	118,941	35.0			23,573	6.9
British Columbia	3	13.6	66,426	14.1	8	36.4	145,570	30.9	7	31.8	125,487	26.6
Manitoba	3	21.4	73,644	27.0	8	57.1	109,775	40.2	3	21.4	64,402	23.6
New Brunswick	3	30.0	93,450	41.9	7	70.0	117,619	52.7			6,769	3.0
Newfoundland			31,060	28.1	7	100.0	74,357	67.2			707	0.6
Northwest Territories			1,344	38.5	1	100.0	1,722	49.4				
Nova Scotia	1	8.3	133,498	40.1	10	83.3	176,554	53.0	1	8.3	22,357	6.7
Ontario	33	38.8	772,691	40.3	51	60.0	898,476	46.9	1	1.2	212,224	11.1
Prince Edward Island	1	25.0	31,836	48.0	3	75.0	33,874	51.1			552	0.8
Quebec	4	5.3	454,052	29.4	66	88.0	944,071	61.0			23,833	1.5
Saskatchewan	1	5.9	41,538	11.7	5	29.4	133,493	37.7	11	64.7	156,406	44.2
Yukon			590	15.7	1	100.0	2,176	57.8				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	51	19.2	1,749,579	31.0	171	64.5	2,756,628	48.9	23	8.7	636,310	11.3
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and Others.

Table 2–17 1953 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party¹

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	12	2			17	3		2	13				17	9	2		12				71	2
British Columbia	22	16	3			22	8		3	22	3	1	22	3				18	1			100	4
Manitoba	14	14	2	1		14	8		2	10	2	1		8				10				56	2
New Brunswick	10	10	3	2		10	5		2	7			1					1				29	2
Newfoundland	7	7			2	7	5	2		1								1				16	2
Northwest Territories																							
Prince Edward Island																							
Quebec	75	71	1	3	1	75	59	1	5	29								53	3	2		228	6
Saskatchewan	17	15		1		17	5		7	17	5	6		14				9				72	7
Yukon	1	1				1	1						1									3	
Totals	265	248	31	18	9	264	148	10	32	170	11	7	1	72	9	5		141	3	2	1	895	43

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 244 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
11	64.7	138,847	40.8			9,430	2.8	17	340,241
4	18.2	123,278	26.1			10,762	2.3	22	471,523
		17,260	6.3			7,696	2.8	14	272,777
		931	0.1			4,317	1.9	10	223,086
						4,459	4.0	7	110,583
						421	12.1	1	3,487
						794	0.2	12	333,203
		5,427	0.1			26,602	1.4	85	1,915,420
								4	66,262
				5	6.7	124,817	8.1	75	1,546,773
		18,810	5.3			3,906	1.1	17	354,153
		998	26.5					1	3,764
15	5.7	305,551	5.4	5	1.9	193,204	3.4	265	5,641,272
									60,691
									5,701,963

Table 2-18 1953 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	4	4	3	1	4	1	17
British Columbia	6	3	4	1	4	4	22
Manitoba	2	1	4	2	2	3	14
New Brunswick	2	2	2	1	1	2	10
Newfoundland		2				5	7
Northwest Territories			1				1
Nova Scotia		1	3	1	2	2	12
Ontario	19	17	17	12	3	17	85
Prince Edward Island	3	1					4
Quebec	7	8	5	8	5	42	75
Saskatchewan	6	3	3	2	1	2	17
Yukon						1	1
Totals	52	42	42	28	22	79	265
Percent of Total	19.6	15.8	15.8	10.6	8.3	29.8	

Table 2-19 1957—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	3	17.6	118,225	27.6	1	5.9	119,190	27.9			27,127	6.3
British Columbia	7	31.8	192,988	32.6	2	9.1	121,301	20.5	7	31.8	131,873	22.3
Manitoba	8	57.1	124,867	35.9	1	7.1	90,880	26.1	5	35.7	82,398	23.7
New Brunswick	5	50.0	114,060	48.7	5	50.0	112,518	48.1			2,001	0.9
Newfoundland	2	28.6	34,795	37.8	5	71.4	56,993	61.9			321	0.3
Northwest Territories			1,253	31.8	1	100.0	2,686	68.2				
Nova Scotia	10	83.3	197,676	50.4	2	16.7	176,891	45.1			17,117	4.4
Ontario	61	71.8	1,104,024	48.8	21	24.7	839,894	37.1	3	3.5	274,069	12.1
Prince Edward Island	4	100.0	34,965	52.3			31,162	46.6			680	1.0
Quebec	9	12.0	557,356	31.1	62	82.7	1,030,354	57.6			31,780	1.8
Saskatchewan	3	17.6	90,359	23.2	4	23.5	118,282	30.3	10	58.8	140,293	36.0
Yukon			2,358	49.3	1	100.0	2,422	50.7				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	112	42.3	2,572,926	38.9	105	39.6	2,702,573	40.9	25	9.4	707,659	10.7
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-20 1957 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	17	2	1		17	1	3	15					17	11	2	3					69	3
British Columbia	22	22	3	4		22	2	6	22	6	1	1		21	4	2	4					91	7
Manitoba	14	14	3	5		14	1	6	14	3	2			14			4					60	7
New Brunswick	10	10	3	2		10	5	2	2					2			1					25	2
Newfoundland	7	6		2		7	5	2	1													14	2
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	1	1				1	1															2	
Nova Scotia	12	12	1	9		12	2	8	6		1	1										31	9
Ontario	85	85	32	29		85	21	31	60	3	1	40					6					276	32
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4		4		4		4	3													11	4
Quebec	75	69	2	7	2	75	57	5	9	22			4				43	1	3	4		213	15
Saskatchewan	17	16	1	2		17	4	1	17	10	1	16					2					68	2
Yukon	1	1				1	1															2	
Totals	265	257	47	65	2	265	100	5	72	162	19	6	4	115	15	4	63	1	3	4		862	83

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
13	76.5	161,697	37.8			1,413	0.3	17	427,652
6	27.3	143,145	24.2			2,232	0.4	22	591,539
		45,803	13.2			4,162	1.2	14	348,110
		2,420	1.0			3,159	1.3	10	234,158
								7	92,109
								1	3,939
		473	0.1					12	392,157
		38,418	1.7			8,166	0.4	85	2,264,571
								4	66,807
		3,877	0.2	4	5.3	166,693	9.3	75	1,790,060
		40,830	10.5			334	0.1	17	390,098
								1	4,780
19	7.2	436,663	6.6	4	1.5	186,159	2.8	265	6,605,980
									74,710
									6,680,690

Table 2-21 1957 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	3	2	3	3	5	1	17
British Columbia	5	1	6	4	4	2	22
Manitoba	1	3	3	2	2	3	14
New Brunswick	1	4	1	3	1		10
Newfoundland		1	1			5	7
Northwest Territories						1	1
Nova Scotia	5	4	3				12
Ontario	8	18	10	10	15	24	85
Prince Edward Island	3	1					4
Quebec	17	8	8	7	5	30	75
Saskatchewan	7	7	1	1		1	17
Yukon				1			1
Totals	50	49	36	31	32	67	265
Percent of Total	18.9	18.5	13.6	11.7	12.1	25.3	

Table 2-22 1958—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	17	100.0	269,689	59.9			61,583	13.7			19,666	4.4
British Columbia	18	81.8	308,971	49.4			100,889	16.1	4	18.2	153,405	24.5
Manitoba	14	100.0	216,948	56.7			82,450	21.6			74,906	19.6
New Brunswick	7	70.0	133,935	54.1	3	30.0	107,297	43.4			4,541	1.8
Newfoundland	2	28.6	72,282	45.2	5	71.4	86,960	54.4			240	0.2
Northwest Territories			2,080	42.8	1	100.0	2,782	57.2				
Nova Scotia	12	100.0	237,422	57.0			160,026	38.4			18,911	4.5
Ontario	67	78.8	1,413,730	56.4	15	17.6	815,524	32.6	3	3.5	262,120	10.5
Prince Edward Island	4	100.0	42,911	62.2			25,847	37.5			215	0.3
Quebec	50	66.7	1,003,276	49.6	25	33.3	924,090	45.7			45,594	2.3
Saskatchewan	16	94.1	204,442	51.4			78,121	19.6	1	5.9	112,800	28.4
Yukon	1	100.0	2,947	54.5			2,340	43.3				
Totals and % Seats/Valid Votes	208	78.5	3,908,633	53.6	49	18.5	2,447,909	33.6	8	3.0	692,398	9.5
Rejected Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-23 1958 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	17	3	14		17			1	15				17		13	4					70	14
British Columbia	22	22	7	11		22			2	22	4		3	22		6	5					93	11
Manitoba	14	14	8	6		14			1	14			5	6			1					49	6
New Brunswick	10	10	5	2		10	3		2	3			3									26	2
Newfoundland	7	7	2			7	5			1							1					16	
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	1	1		1		1			1													2	
Nova Scotia	12	12	10	2		12			2	4												28	4
Ontario	85	85	61	6		85	15		6	63	3		18				10					261	6
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4				4				1												9	
Quebec	75	75	9	41		75	22	3	40	29			15				25		2			219	44
Saskatchewan	17	17	3	13		17			4	17	1		9	1			3					55	13
Yukon	1	1		1		1			1													2	
Totals	265	265	108	97		265	45	3	60	169	8		17	82		19	49		2			830	101

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		97,141	21.6			1,810	0.4	17	449,889
		59,762	9.6			2,515	0.4	22	625,542
		6,753	1.8			1,503	0.4	14	382,560
		1,711	0.7					10	247,484
						263	0.2	7	159,745
								1	4,862
								12	416,359
		8,386	0.3			4,753	0.2	85	2,504,513
								4	68,973
		12,858	0.6			38,431	1.9	75	2,024,249
		1,745	0.4			604	0.2	17	397,712
						122	2.3	1	5,409
		188,356	2.6			50,001	0.7	265	7,287,297
									69,842
									7,357,139

Table 2-24 1958 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta		1		1	2	13	17
British Columbia	3	5	1	4	1	8	22
Manitoba	2		3	2		7	14
New Brunswick	3	2	2	1	1	1	10
Newfoundland			1	1	2	3	7
Northwest Territories			1				1
Nova Scotia	1	2	3	2	4		12
Ontario	11	7	5	6	5	51	85
Prince Edward Island		1			1	2	4
Quebec	22	23	11	12	7		75
Saskatchewan		3	2	3	2	7	17
Yukon			1				1
Totals	42	44	30	32	25	92	265
Percent of Total	16.3	17.1	11.6	12.4	9.7	32.9	

Table 2-25 1962—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	15	88.2	214,699	42.8			97,322	19.4			42,305	8.4
British Columbia	6	27.3	187,389	27.3	4	18.2	187,438	27.3	10	45.5	212,035	30.9
Manitoba	11	78.6	161,824	41.6	1	7.1	121,041	31.1	2	14.3	76,514	19.7
New Brunswick	4	40.0	115,973	46.5	6	60.0	110,850	44.4			13,220	5.3
Newfoundland	1	14.3	55,396	36.0	6	85.7	90,896	59.0			7,590	4.9
Northwest Territories			3,519	42.4	1	100.0	3,842	46.2				
Nova Scotia	9	75.0	198,902	47.3	2	16.7	178,520	42.4	1	8.3	39,689	9.4
Ontario	35	41.2	1,056,095	39.3	44	51.8	1,122,222	41.8	6	7.1	456,459	17.0
Prince Edward Island	4	100.0	37,388	51.3			31,603	43.3			3,802	5.2
Quebec	14	18.7	617,762	29.6	35	46.7	818,760	39.2			91,795	4.4
Saskatchewan	16	94.1	213,385	50.4			94,090	22.2	1	5.9	96,030	22.7
Yukon	1	100.0	3,250	55.0			2,664	45.0				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	116	43.8	2,865,582	37.3	99	37.4	2,859,248	37.2	20	7.5	1,039,439	13.5
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-26 1962 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	17	15		2	17				17				17	2			3				71	2
British Columbia	22	22	6		12	21		4		22	4	6		4	2			4				73	12
Manitoba	14	14	11		3	14		1		14	2			13				3				58	3
New Brunswick	10	10	4		3	10	3	3		7				8				1				36	3
Newfoundland	7	7	1		1	7	5	1		4				1								19	1
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	1	1				1	1							1								3	
Nova Scotia	12	12	9		3	12		2		12		1		7								43	3
Ontario	85	85	34		33	85	15	30		81	3	3		70				7				328	33
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4				4				4				1								13	
Quebec	75	75	14		36	75	16	19	9	40				75	26			81				346	45
Saskatchewan	17	17	16			17				17	1			15				1				67	
Yukon	1	1	1			1																2	
Totals	265	265	111		93	264	40	60	9	218	8	12		212	30			100				1,059	102

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
2	11.8	146,662	29.2			997	0.2	17	501,985
2	9.1	97,396	14.2			1,931	0.3	22	686,189
		26,662	6.8			3,297	0.8	14	389,338
		9,016	3.6			441	0.2	10	249,500
		158	0.1					7	154,040
		948	11.4					1	8,309
		3,764	0.9					12	420,875
		49,734	1.9			3,135	0.1	85	2,687,645
		153	0.2					4	72,946
26	34.7	542,433	26.0			19,173	0.9	75	2,089,923
		19,648	4.6			317	0.1	17	423,470
								1	5,914
30	11.3	896,574	11.7			29,291	0.4	265	7,690,134
									82,522
									7,772,656

Table 2-27 1962 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	2	4	3	5	2	1	17
British Columbia	7	5	2	1	1	6	22
Manitoba	1	4	5		3	1	14
New Brunswick	2	3	3	1	1		10
Newfoundland	1	1		1		4	7
Northwest Territories	1						1
Nova Scotia	5	6		1			12
Ontario	25	16	17	10	5	12	85
Prince Edward Island	2		2				4
Quebec	13	14	13	13	10	12	75
Saskatchewan	1		4	1	2	9	17
Yukon			1				1
Totals	60	53	50	33	24	45	265
Percent of Total	22.6	20.0	18.9	12.5	9.1	17.0	

Table 2-28 1963—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	14	82.4	249,067	45.3	1	5.9	121,473	22.1			35,775	6.5
British Columbia	4	18.2	172,501	23.4	7	31.8	237,896	32.3	9	40.9	222,883	30.3
Manitoba	10	71.4	169,013	42.3	2	14.3	134,905	33.8	2	14.3	66,652	16.7
New Brunswick	4	40.0	98,462	40.4	6	60.0	115,036	47.3			8,899	3.7
Newfoundland			45,491	30.1	7	100.0	97,576	64.5			6,364	4.2
Northwest Territories	1	100.0	4,814	56.8			3,659	43.2				
Nova Scotia	5	41.7	195,711	46.9	7	58.3	195,007	46.7			26,617	6.4
Ontario	27	31.8	979,359	35.3	52	61.2	1,286,791	46.3	6	7.1	442,340	15.9
Prince Edward Island	4	100.0	35,965	52.0			32,073	46.4			1,140	1.6
Quebec	8	10.7	413,562	19.5	47	62.7	966,172	45.6			151,061	7.1
Saskatchewan	17	100.0	224,700	53.7			100,747	24.1			76,126	18.2
Yukon	1	100.0	2,969	49.6			2,455	41.0				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	95	35.8	2,591,614	32.8	129	48.7	3,293,790	41.7	17	6.4	1,037,857	13.1
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-29 1963 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	17	14		1	17		1		17				17	2			4				72	1
British Columbia	22	22	4		2	22	4	3		22	9	1		22	2			5				93	3
Manitoba	14	14	10		1	14	1	1		13	2			13				1				55	1
New Brunswick	10	10	4			10	6			7				10								37	
Newfoundland	7	7			1	7	6	1		3								1				18	1
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	1	1		1		1			1													2	1
Nova Scotia	12	12	6	1	3	12	2	3		9		1	2									35	4
Ontario	85	85	25	2	9	85	43	9	2	80	5	1	1	67				13				330	12
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4	2		2	4		2		4												12	2
Quebec	75	75	8		6	75	33	14	2	60				75	17	3	9	10				295	17
Saskatchewan	17	17	16	1		17				17		1		16				3				70	1
Yukon	1	1	1			1								1								3	
Totals	265	265	90	5	25	265	95	34	5	232	16	1	4	223	21	3	9	37				1,022	43

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
2	11.8	141,956	25.8			1,255	0.2	17	549,526
2	9.1	97,846	13.3			4,846	0.7	22	735,972
		28,157	7.0			826	0.2	14	399,553
		21,050	8.6					10	243,447
						1,943	1.3	7	151,374
								1	8,473
		401	0.1					12	417,736
		56,276	2.0			11,896	0.4	85	2,776,662
								4	69,178
20	26.7	578,347	27.3			8,903	0.4	75	2,118,045
		16,110	3.9			443	0.1	17	418,126
		560	9.4					1	5,984
24	9.1	940,703	11.9			30,112	0.4	265	7,894,076
									64,560
									7,958,636

Table 2-30 1963 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	3	4	1	3	1	5	17
British Columbia	7	4	4	3	1	3	22
Manitoba	3	1	2	3	4	1	14
New Brunswick	1	2	2	1	2	2	10
Newfoundland	1		1			5	7
Northwest Territories			1				1
Nova Scotia	4	8					12
Ontario	24	14	8	16	8	15	85
Prince Edward Island	2		2				4
Quebec	16	14	7	10	4	24	75
Saskatchewan		1		3	1	12	17
Yukon Territory		1					1
Totals	61	49	28	39	21	67	265
Percent of Total	23.1	18.6	10.6	14.8	8.0	25.4	

Table 2-31 1965—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	15	88.2	247,734	46.6			119,014	22.4			43,818	8.2
British Columbia	3	13.6	139,226	19.2	7	31.8	217,726	30.0	9	40.9	239,132	32.9
Manitoba	10	71.4	154,253	40.7	1	7.1	117,442	31.0	3	21.4	91,193	24.0
New Brunswick	4	40.0	102,714	42.5	6	60.0	114,781	47.5			22,759	9.4
Newfoundland			47,638	32.4	7	100.0	94,291	64.1			1,742	1.2
Northwest Territories			3,615	39.1	1	100.0	5,194	56.2			431	4.7
Nova Scotia	10	83.3	203,123	48.6	2	16.7	175,415	42.0			38,043	9.1
Ontario	25	29.4	933,753	34.0	51	60.0	1,196,308	43.6	9	10.6	594,112	21.7
Prince Edward Island	4	100.0	38,566	53.9			31,532	44.1			1,463	2.0
Quebec	8	10.7	432,901	21.2	57	76.0	928,530	45.6			244,339	12.0
Saskatchewan	17	100.0	193,254	48.0			96,740	24.0			104,626	26.0
Yukon	1	100.0	3,136	55.2			2,546	44.8				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	97	36.6	2,499,913	32.4	132	49.8	3,099,519	40.2	21	7.9	1,381,658	17.9
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-32 1965 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	17	17	14	1		17			1	17				17	2			3				71	1
British Columbia	22	22	3		1	22	7			22	9			22	2	1		8				96	1
Manitoba	14	14	9	1	1	14	1		1	14	2	1		11				1				54	2
New Brunswick	10	10	4			10	6			10				1				1				32	
Newfoundland	7	7				7	7			3				4				1				22	
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	1	1			1	1			1	1												3	1
Nova Scotia	12	12	7	3		12	2		3	12								2				38	3
Ontario	85	85	22	2	5	85	47	5	5	84	5	4	1	19				17				290	11
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4	2	2		4			2													8	2
Quebec	75	75	4	4	4	75	45	11	2	71				75	9	11	27	2				323	17
Saskatchewan	17	17	17			17				17				12				1				64	
Yukon	1	1	1			1																2	
Totals	265	265	83	13	12	265	115	17	14	251	16	5	1	161	13	1	11	61	2			1,003	38

Soc. Credit/Ral. Cred.				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
2	11.8	119,586	22.5			1,275	0.2	17	531,427
3	13.6	126,532	17.4			3,368	0.5	22	725,984
		16,315	4.3			237	0.1	14	379,440
		1,433	0.6					10	241,687
		2,352	1.6			1,022	0.7	7	147,045
								1	9,240
						1,249	0.3	12	417,830
		10,995	0.4			8,615	0.3	85	2,743,783
								4	71,561
9	12.0	357,153	17.5	1	1.3	74,389	3.7	75	2,037,312
		7,526	1.9			179	0.1	17	402,325
								1	5,682
14	5.3	641,892	8.3	1	0.4	90,334	1.2	265	7,713,316
									83,412
									7,796,728

Table 2-33 1965 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	1	3	2	1	4	6	17
British Columbia	4	3	6	2	5	2	22
Manitoba	1	3	1	2	5	2	14
New Brunswick	1	1	2	4		2	10
Newfoundland			1	1		5	7
Northwest Territories			1				1
Nova Scotia	4	3	4	1			12
Ontario	20	15	13	11	12	14	85
Prince Edward Island	2		2				4
Quebec	10	11	11	6	8	29	75
Saskatchewan	1	1	3	4	2	6	17
Yukon Territory		1					1
Totals	44	41	46	32	36	66	265
Percent of Total	16.6	15.5	17.4	12.1	13.6	24.9	

Table 2-34 1968—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	15	78.9	283,987	50.4	4	21.1	201,045	35.7	7	30.4	52,720	9.4
British Columbia			155,101	19.4	16	69.6	333,949	41.8			260,989	32.7
Manitoba	5	50.0	125,713	31.4	5	50.0	166,025	41.5	6	37.5	99,974	25.0
New Brunswick	5	31.3	125,269	49.7	5	31.3	111,843	44.4			12,277	4.9
Newfoundland	6	85.7	84,483	52.7	1	14.3	68,549	42.8			7,042	4.4
Northwest Territories			2,211	23.4	1	100.0	6,018	63.8			1,203	12.8
Nova Scotia	10	90.9	186,026	55.2	1	9.1	127,962	38.0			22,676	6.7
Ontario	17	20.7	942,979	32.0	64	78.0	1,372,903	46.6	3	42.9	607,011	20.6
Prince Edward Island	4	57.1	26,276	51.8			22,854	45.0			1,636	3.2
Quebec	4	5.4	466,492	21.4	56	75.7	1,170,417	53.6	6	46.2	164,466	7.5
Saskatchewan	5	38.5	153,233	37.0	2	15.4	112,332	27.1			147,941	35.7
Yukon	1	100.0	3,110	48.0			3,048	47.0			325	5.0
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	72	27.3	2,554,880	31.4	155	58.7	3,696,945	45.5	22	8.3	1,378,260	17.0
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 2-35 1968 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party¹

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	19	19	9	1	2	19		3		19				3		2	6					66	4
British Columbia	23	23			3	23	6	6		23	5	3	19				9					97	6
Manitoba	13	13	5		5	13	1	4		13	2	1		4			5					48	5
New Brunswick	10	10	2	1		10	3		1	10							3					33	1
Newfoundland	7	7		6		7	1		6	7				1								22	6
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	1	1				1	1			1												3	
Nova Scotia	11	11	10			11	1			11				4			1					38	
Ontario	88	88	10	2	3	88	31	6	3	88	3	3	3				20	1				287	9
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4	4			4				4												12	
Quebec	74	74	3	1	1	74	31	5	7	70				70	5	6	2	28		2		316	12
Saskatchewan	13	13	6		7	13		2		13		5					2					41	7
Yukon	1	1	1			1				1												3	
Totals	264	264	50	11	21	264	75	26	17	260	10	6	6	104	5	6	4	74	1	2		966	50

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 191 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Ral. Cred.				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						26,083	4.6	19	563,835
						48,703	6.1	23	798,742
		949	0.2			7,732	1.9	10	400,393
		1,769	0.7			821	0.3	16	251,979
						126	0.1	7	160,200
								1	9,432
						293	0.1	11	336,957
				1	1.2	25,599	0.9	82	2,948,492
								7	50,766
14	18.9	358,327	16.4			24,590	1.1	74	2,184,292
						919	0.2	13	414,425
								1	6,483
14	5.3	361,045	4.4	1	0.4	134,866	1.7	264	8,125,996
									91,920
									8,217,916

Table 2-36 1968 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	4	5	2		1	7	19
British Columbia	6	4	6	3	1	3	23
Manitoba	2	3	3	3	2		13
New Brunswick	1	1	4	2		2	10
Newfoundland	2	1		2	1	1	7
Northwest Territories						1	1
Nova Scotia	1	1	3	2	2	2	11
Ontario	18	26	12	11	10	11	88
Prince Edward Island	2	1	1				4
Quebec	9	16	9	3	5	32	74
Saskatchewan	5	6	1			1	13
Yukon Territory	1						1
Totals	51	64	41	26	22	60	264
Percent of Total	19.3	24.2	15.5	9.8	8.3	22.7	

Table 2-37 1972—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	19	100.0	409,857	57.6			177,599	25.0			89,811	12.6
British Columbia	8	34.8	313,253	33.0	4	17.4	274,468	28.9	11	47.8	332,345	35.0
Manitoba	8	61.5	184,363	41.6	2	15.4	136,906	30.9	3	23.1	116,474	26.3
New Brunswick	5	50.0	131,455	44.9	5	50.0	125,935	43.1			16,703	5.7
Newfoundland	4	57.1	85,857	49.0	3	42.9	78,505	44.8			8,165	4.7
Northwest Territories			4,339	30.9			4,121	29.3	1	100.0	5,597	39.8
Nova Scotia	10	90.9	204,460	53.4	1	9.1	129,738	33.9			47,072	12.3
Ontario	40	45.5	1,399,148	39.1	36	40.9	1,366,922	38.2	11	12.5	768,076	21.5
Prince Edward Island	3	75.0	29,419	51.9	1	25.0	22,950	40.5			4,229	7.5
Quebec	2	2.7	457,418	17.4	56	75.7	1,289,139	49.1			168,910	6.4
Saskatchewan	7	53.8	159,629	36.9	1	7.7	109,342	25.3	5	38.5	155,195	35.9
Yukon	1	100.0	4,332	53.0			2,633	32.2			951	11.6
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	107	40.5	3,383,530	35.0	109	41.3	3,718,258	38.5	31	11.7	1,713,528	17.7
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 2-38 1972 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

	Total	Prog. Cons.					Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total	Total
Province	Seats	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	Candidates	Changing Seats	
Alberta	19	19	15	4		19			4	19				19				2				78	4	
British Columbia	23	23		8		23	4	12	23	7	4			19				6				94	12	
Manitoba	13	13	5	3		13	2	3	13	3				4				2				45	3	
New Brunswick	10	10	5			10	5			10				8				1				39		
Newfoundland	7	7	4		2	7	1	2		7				2				1				24	2	
Northwest Territories	1	1				1			1	1		1										3	1	
Nova Scotia	11	11	10			11	1			11				4								37		
Ontario	88	88	17	23		88	36	28	88	6	5			25				13	1			302	28	
Prince Edward Island	4	4	3		1	4		1		4				1								13	1	
Quebec	74	74	2		2	74	55	1	1	62				70	13	2	1	34		1		314	4	
Saskatchewan	13	13	3	4	2	13	1		1	13	2	3	4	13				2				54	5	
Yukon	1	1	1			1				1												3		
Totals	264	264	65	42	7	264	105	4	50	252	18	13	4	165	13	2	1	61	1	1		1,006	60	

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		31,689	4.5			1,996	0.3	19	710,952
		25,107	2.6			3,116	0.3	23	948,289
		3,228	0.7			2,183	0.5	13	443,154
		16,450	5.6			1,948	0.7	10	292,491
		266	0.2			2,253	1.3	7	175,046
								1	14,057
		1,316	0.3			501	0.1	11	383,087
		12,937	0.4	1	1.1	30,969	0.9	88	3,578,052
		55	0.1					4	56,653
15	20.3	639,207	24.4	1	1.4	70,362	2.7	74	2,625,036
		7,717	1.8			621	0.1	13	432,504
						252	3.1	1	8,168
15	5.7	737,972	7.6	2	0.8	114,201	1.2	264	9,667,489
									307,172
									9,974,661

Table 2-39 1972 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0— 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta			1	2	3	13	19
British Columbia	5	3	5	4	4	2	23
Manitoba	2	1	2	3	1	4	13
New Brunswick		1	2	3	1	3	10
Newfoundland		1		1	2	3	7
Northwest Territories	1						1
Nova Scotia		3		1	3	4	11
Ontario	27	15	13	16	9	8	88
Prince Edward Island	1		1	2			4
Quebec	10	7	4	7	13	33	74
Saskatchewan	5	4		2		2	13
Yukon Territory					1		1
Totals	51	35	28	41	37	72	264
Percent of Total	19.3	13.3	10.6	15.5	14.0	27.3	

Table 2-40 1974—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	19	100.0	417,422	61.2			168,973	24.8			63,310	9.3
British Columbia	13	56.5	423,954	41.9	8	34.8	336,435	33.3	2	8.7	232,547	23.0
Manitoba	9	69.2	212,990	47.7	2	15.4	122,470	27.4	2	15.4	104,829	23.5
New Brunswick	3	30.0	94,934	33.0	6	60.0	135,723	47.2			24,869	8.7
Newfoundland	3	42.9	75,816	43.6	4	57.1	81,299	46.7			16,445	9.5
Northwest Territories			4,271	33.2			3,173	24.7	1	100.0	5,410	42.1
Nova Scotia	8	72.7	183,897	47.5	2	18.2	157,582	40.7	1	9.1	43,470	11.2
Ontario	25	28.4	1,252,082	35.1	55	62.5	1,609,786	45.1	8	9.1	680,113	19.1
Prince Edward Island	3	75.0	28,578	49.1	1	25.0	26,932	46.2			2,666	4.6
Quebec	3	4.1	520,632	21.2	60	81.1	1,330,337	54.1			162,080	6.6
Saskatchewan	8	61.5	150,846	36.4	3	23.1	127,282	30.7	2	15.4	130,391	31.5
Yukon	1	100.0	3,913	47.1			2,784	33.5			1,618	19.5
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	95	36.0	3,369,335	35.4	141	53.4	4,102,776	43.2	16	6.1	1,467,748	15.4
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 2-41 1974 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.					Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L		C	R	G	L		C	R	G	L		C	R	G	L				
Alberta	19	19	19				19				19				17			16				90		
British Columbia	23	23	8				23	2	6	2	23	2		9	10			29				108	11	
Manitoba	13	13	8	1			13	2			13	2		1	10			9				58	1	
New Brunswick	10	10	3		2		10	5	1		10				5			3	1			38	2	
Newfoundland	7	7	3		1		7	3	1		7				1			1				23	1	
Northwest Territory	1	1					1			1	1											3		
Nova Scotia	11	11	8		2		11	1	1		11		1		8			4				45	2	
Ontario	88	88	25		15		88	36	19		88	8		3	19			96		1		379	19	
Prince Edward Island	4	4	3				4	1			4											12		
Quebec	74	74	2	1			74	56	4		72				68	11	4	76		1		364	5	
Saskatchewan	13	13	6	2			13	1	2		13	2		3	12			5				56	4	
Yukon	1	1	1				1				1											3		
Totals	264	264	86	4	20		264	107	34	3	262	15	1	16	150	11	4	239	1	2		1,179	45	

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		22,909	3.4			9,955	1.5	19	682,569
		12,433	1.2			5,512	0.5	23	1,010,881
		4,750	1.1			1,692	0.4	13	446,731
		8,407	2.9	1	10.0	23,417	8.1	10	287,350
		143	0.1			242	0.1	7	173,945
								1	12,854
		1,457	0.4			458	0.1	11	386,864
		6,575	0.2			16,981	0.5	88	3,565,537
						77	0.1	4	58,253
11	14.9	420,018	17.1			25,608	1.0	74	2,458,675
		4,539	1.1			876	0.2	13	413,934
								1	8,315
11	4.2	481,231	5.1	1	0.4	84,818	0.9	264	9,505,908
									165,094
									9,671,002

Table 2-42 1974 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0— 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta				2	4	13	19
British Columbia	7	7	3	1	3	2	23
Manitoba	2	3	1	1	1	5	13
New Brunswick		2	3	1		4	10
Newfoundland	1				4	2	7
Northwest Territories		1					1
Nova Scotia	1	3	3	4			11
Ontario	11	25	16	8	14	14	88
Prince Edward Island		2	2				4
Quebec	5	8	5	6	8	42	74
Saskatchewan	6	2	2	1	1	1	13
Yukon Territory			1				1
Totals	33	53	36	24	35	83	264
Percent of Total	12.5	20.1	13.6	9.1	13.3	31.4	

Table 2-43 1979—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	21	100.0	559,588	65.6			188,295	22.1			84,236	9.9
British Columbia ²	19	67.9	530,380	44.3	1	3.6	274,946	23.0	8	28.6	381,678	31.9
Manitoba	7	50.0	222,787	43.4	2	14.3	120,493	23.5	5	35.7	167,850	32.7
New Brunswick	4	40.0	134,998	40.0	6	60.0	150,634	44.6			51,642	15.3
Newfoundland	2	28.6	59,893	29.7	4	57.1	81,861	40.6	1	14.3	59,978	29.7
Northwest Territories	1	50.0	5,410	32.3			5,714	34.1	1	50.0	5,348	31.9
Nova Scotia	8	72.7	193,099	45.4	2	18.2	151,078	35.5	1	9.1	79,603	18.7
Ontario	57	60.0	1,732,717	41.8	32	33.7	1,509,926	36.4	6	6.3	873,182	21.1
Prince Edward Island	4	100.0	34,147	52.8			26,231	40.6			4,181	6.5
Quebec	2	2.7	432,199	13.5	67	89.3	1,975,526	61.7			163,492	5.1
Saskatchewan	10	71.4	201,803	41.2			106,550	21.8	4	28.6	175,011	35.8
Yukon	1	100.0	4,538	44.6			3,065	30.1			2,578	25.3
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	136	48.2	4,111,559	35.9	114	40.4	4,594,319	40.1	26	9.2	2,048,779	17.9
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.
²Table 5 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* shows a total of 298 more votes for the Progressive Conservatives. However, the total vote is in agreement with that reported.

Table 2-44 1979 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party¹

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candidates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	21	21	16			21				21				9				23				95	
British Columbia	28	28	10	2		28	1		5	28	1	3		4				31				119	5
Manitoba	14	14	5		2	14	1			14	2	2		10				11				63	2
New Brunswick	10	10	3	1		10	5	1	1	10								1		1		31	2
Newfoundland	7	7	2		1	7	4			7		1										21	1
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	2	2		1		2				2	1	1						1				7	
Nova Scotia	11	11	7	1	1	11	1	1	1	11	1							7				40	2
Ontario	95	95	16	25		95	28		23	95	6	1	5	-				116				406	25
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4	3			4	1			4								1				13	
Quebec	75	75	2		1	75	51	6	1	75				74	5	1	5	212				511	7
Saskatchewan	14	14	5	1	2	14			1	14	1	2		8				8				58	3
Yukon	1	1	1			1				1												3	
Totals	282	282	70	31	7	282	92	8	32	282	12	8	2	110	5	1	5	411		1		1,367	47

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 231 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		8,164	1.0			12,894	1.5	21	853,177
		1,885	0.2			7,023	0.6	28	1,195,912
		1,044	0.2			1,599	0.3	14	513,773
						258	0.1	10	337,532
								7	201,732
						273	1.6	2	16,745
						1,829	0.4	11	425,609
		1,002	0.1			26,168	0.6	95	4,142,995
						54	0.1	4	64,613
6	8.0	512,995	16.0			119,817	3.7	75	3,204,029
		2,514	0.5			3,526	0.7	14	489,404
								1	10,181
6	2.1	527,604	4.6			173,441	1.5	282	11,455,702
									85,298
									11,541,000

Table 2-45 1979 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0— 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta					1	20	21
British Columbia	5	5	3	4	4	7	28
Manitoba	4	1	1	1		7	14
New Brunswick	1	1	3		1	4	10
Newfoundland				2	1	4	7
Northwest Territories	2						2
Nova Scotia	3	1	3		1	3	11
Ontario	24	15	20	11	6	19	95
Prince Edward Island	1		1		2		4
Quebec	5	3	5		2	60	75
Saskatchewan	4	2	4	2	1	1	14
Yukon Territory and			1				1
Totals	49	28	41	20	19	125	282
Percent of Total	17.4	9.9	14.5	7.1	6.7	44.3	

Table 2-46 1980—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	21	100.0	516,079	64.9			176,601	22.2			81,755	10.3
British Columbia	16	57.1	502,088	41.5			268,262	22.2	12	42.9	426,858	35.3
Manitoba	5	35.7	179,607	37.7	2	14.3	133,253	28.0	7	50.0	159,434	33.5
New Brunswick	3	30.0	109,056	32.5	7	70.0	168,316	50.1			54,517	16.2
Newfoundland	2	28.6	72,999	36.0	5	71.4	95,354	47.0			33,943	16.7
Northwest Territories	1	50.0	3,998	24.7			5,802	35.8	1	50.0	6,225	38.4
Nova Scotia	6	54.5	163,459	38.7	5	45.5	168,304	39.9			88,052	20.9
Ontario	38	40.0	1,420,436	35.5	52	54.7	1,675,519	41.9	5	5.3	874,229	21.9
Prince Edward Island	2	50.0	30,653	46.3	2	50.0	31,005	46.8			4,339	6.6
Quebec	1	1.3	373,317	12.6	74	98.7	2,017,156	68.2			268,409	9.1
Saskatchewan	7	50.0	177,376	38.9			110,517	24.2	7	50.0	165,308	36.3
Yukon	1	100.0	3,926	40.6			3,825	39.6			1,918	19.8
Totals and %												
Seats Valid Votes	103	36.5	3,552,994	32.5	147	52.1	4,853,914	44.3	32	11.3	2,164,987	19.8
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 2-47 1980 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	21	21	21			21				21				15				30				108	
British Columbia	28	28	15	1	4	28			1	28	8	4		5				39				128	5
Manitoba	14	14	5		2	14	2			14	5	2						18				60	2
New Brunswick	10	10	3		1	10	6	1		10								9				39	1
Newfoundland	7	7	2			7	4	1		7			1					3				24	1
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	2	2	1			2				2	1							1				7	
Nova Scotia	11	11	6		1	11	2	3	1	11			1					9				42	3
Ontario	95	95	38		19	95	32	20		95	3	2	3	5				170				460	22
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4	2			4	1	1		4								2				14	1
Quebec	75	75	1		1	75	67	7		73				55		6		207				485	7
Saskatchewan	14	14	7		3	14				14	4	3		1				11				54	3
Yukon	1	1	1			1				1												3	
Totals	282	282	102	1	31	282	114	33	2	280	21	11	5	81		6	499					1,424	45

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		8,158	1.0			12,852	1.6	21	795,445
		1,763	0.1			10,841	0.9	28	1,209,812
						3,610	0.8	14	475,904
						3,841	1.1	10	335,730
						749	0.4	7	203,045
						180	1.1	2	16,205
						2,427	0.6	11	422,242
		804	0.1			29,853	0.7	95	4,000,841
						208	0.3	4	66,205
		174,583	5.9			123,577	4.2	75	2,957,042
		178	0.1			2,395	0.5	14	455,774
								1	9,669
		185,486	1.7			190,533	1.7	282	10,947,914
									67,600
									11,015,514

Table 2-48 1980 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta			1			20	21
British Columbia	5	4	5	6	1	7	28
Manitoba	1	2	3	2	3	3	14
New Brunswick	2		3			5	10
Newfoundland			1		2	4	7
Northwest Territories	1	1					2
Nova Scotia	3	1	5	2			11
Ontario	29	19	18	15	7	7	95
Prince Edward Island	2	1	1				4
Quebec	1	3	3	2		66	75
Saskatchewan	5	5	1	2	1		14
Yukon Territory	1						1
Totals	50	36	41	29	14	112	282
Percent of Total	17.7	12.8	14.5	10.3	5.0	39.7	

Table 2-49 1984—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	21	100.0	701,344	68.8			129,945	12.7			143,588	14.1
British Columbia	19	67.9	668,432	46.6	1	3.6	235,394	16.4	8	28.6	502,331	35.1
Manitoba	9	64.3	221,947	43.2	1	7.1	112,123	21.8	4	28.6	139,999	27.2
New Brunswick	9	90.0	202,144	53.6	1	10.0	120,326	31.9			53,332	14.1
Newfoundland	4	57.1	138,867	57.6	3	42.9	87,778	36.4			13,993	5.8
Northwest Territories	2	100.0	8,059	41.3			5,254	26.9			5,511	28.2
Nova Scotia	9	81.8	233,713	50.7	2	18.2	154,954	33.6			70,190	15.2
Ontario	67	70.5	2,113,187	47.6	14	14.7	1,323,835	29.8	13	13.7	921,504	20.8
Prince Edward Island	3	75.0	38,160	52.0	1	25.0	30,075	41.0			4,737	6.5
Quebec	58	77.3	1,728,196	50.2	17	22.7	1,219,124	35.4			301,928	8.8
Saskatchewan	9	64.3	218,000	41.7			95,143	18.2	5	35.7	200,918	38.4
Yukon	1	100.0	6,648	56.8			2,535	21.7			1,884	16.1
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	211	74.8	6,278,697	50.0	40	14.2	3,516,486	28.0	30	10.6	2,359,915	18.8
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹ Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 2-50 1984 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candidates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	21	21	21			21				21				15				45				123	
British Columbia	28	28	15	4	1	28		1		28	8	4	7					71				162	5
Manitoba	14	14	5	4		14	1		1	14	4		3					26				68	4
New Brunswick	10	10	3	6		10	1		6	10				1				4				35	6
Newfoundland	7	7	2	2		7	3		2	7								2				23	2
Northwest Territories																							
Territories	2	2	1	1		2				2			1					1				7	1
Nova Scotia	11	11	6	3		11	2		3	11								4				37	3
Ontario	95	95	37	30	1	95	14		38	95	5	8		6				131	1			422	39
Prince Edward Island																							
Island	4	4	2	1		4	1		1	4								2				14	1
Quebec	75	75	1	57		75	17		57	75				23				203				451	57
Saskatchewan	14	14	7	2		14				14	5		2					22				64	2
Yukon	1	1	1			1				1												3	
Totals	282	282	101	110	2	282	39	1	108	282	22	8	10	52				511	1			1,409	120

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		5,965	0.6			38,697	3.8	21	1,019,539
		3,094	0.2			23,797	1.7	28	1,433,048
						39,765	7.7	14	513,834
		102	0.1			1,446	0.4	10	377,350
						521	0.2	7	241,159
						686	3.5	2	19,510
						1,735	0.4	11	460,592
		865	0.1	1	1.1	76,020	1.7	95	4,435,411
						442	0.6	4	73,414
		6,633	0.2			184,479	5.4	75	3,440,360
						8,739	1.7	14	522,800
						637	5.4	1	11,704
		16,659	0.1	1	0.4	376,964	3.0	282	12,548,721
									89,703
									12,638,424

Table 2-51 1984 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 —4.9	5.0 —9.9	10.0 —14.9	15.0 —19.9	20.0 —24.9	25.0— 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta					1	20	21
British Columbia	4	6	4	2	5	7	28
Manitoba	1	6	2	1	1	3	14
New Brunswick	1	2		2		5	10
Newfoundland	3		2			2	7
Northwest Territories	1			1			2
Nova Scotia		2	2		1	6	11
Ontario	14	14	13	6	9	39	95
Prince Edward Island		1	2			1	4
Quebec	13	13	11	8	10	20	75
Saskatchewan	4	2	2	3	2	1	14
Yukon Territory						1	1
Totals	41	46	38	23	29	105	282
Percent of Total	14.5	16.3	13.5	8.2	10.3	37.2	

Table 2-52 1988—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Province and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta	25	96.2	601,639	51.8			159,418	13.7	1	3.8	202,093	17.4
British Columbia	12	37.5	527,767	34.4	1	3.1	326,801	21.3	19	59.4	567,732	37.0
Manitoba	7	50.0	199,161	36.9	5	35.7	196,887	36.5	2	14.3	115,293	21.3
New Brunswick	5	50.0	155,062	40.4	5	50.0	173,960	45.4			35,790	9.3
Newfoundland	2	28.6	108,456	42.2	5	71.4	115,690	45.0			31,775	12.4
Northwest Territories			5,585	26.4	2	100.0	8,771	41.4			5,993	28.3
Nova Scotia	5	45.5	196,390	40.9	6	54.5	223,175	46.5			54,515	11.4
Ontario	46	46.5	1,788,118	38.2	43	43.4	1,819,087	38.9	10	10.1	940,121	20.1
Prince Edward Island			31,372	41.5	4	100.0	37,761	49.9			5,661	7.5
Quebec	63	84.0	1,841,311	52.7	12	16.0	1,057,876	30.3			487,971	14.0
Saskatchewan	4	28.6	190,463	36.4			95,235	18.2	10	71.4	231,030	44.2
Yukon			4,524	35.3			1,450	11.3	1	100.0	6,594	51.4
Total and % Seats and Valid Votes	169	57.3	5,649,848	42.9	83	28.1	4,216,111	32.0	43	14.6	2,684,568	20.4
Rejected Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 2-53 1988 Election Results—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Province and Party

Province	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				NDP				Social Credit				Other				Total Candidates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
Alberta	26	26	21			26				26								86				164	
British Columbia	32	32	15	4	1	32		1		32	8		4	2				122				220	5
Manitoba	14	14	5	4		14	1		1	14	4		3					39				81	4
New Brunswick	10	10	3	6		10	1		6	10								14				44	6
Newfoundland	7	7	2	2		7	3		2	7								2				23	2
Northwest Territories	2	2	1	1		2				2			1					2				8	1
Nova Scotia	11	11	6	3		11	2		3	11								14				47	3
Ontario	99	99	37	30	1	98	14		38	99	5	8		1				210	1			507	39
Prince Edward Island	4	4	2	1		4	1		1	4								2				14	1
Quebec	75	75	1	57		75	17		57	75				6				147				378	57
Saskatchewan	14	14	7	2		14				14	5		2					15				57	2
Yukon	1	1	1			1				1								1				4	
Totals	295	295	101	110	2	294	39	1	108	295	22	8	10	9				654	1			1,547	120

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		1,169	0.1			199,334	17.1	26	1,162,484
						111,548	7.3	32	1,535,017
						28,749	5.3	14	540,090
						18,773	4.9	10	383,585
						1,025	0.4	7	256,946
						833	3.9	2	21,182
						5,762	1.2	11	479,842
		168	0.1			133,605	2.9	99	4,681,099
						842	1.1	4	75,636
		2,070	0.1			107,183	3.1	75	3,496,411
						6,500	1.2	14	523,228
						255	2.0	1	12,823
		3,407	0			614,409	4.7	295	13,168,343
									105,339
									13,273,682

Table 2-54 1988 Election Results—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Province	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
Alberta	1	3	2	1	3	16	26
British Columbia	7	6	8	6	3	2	32
Manitoba	3	5		2	1	3	14
New Brunswick	3	3	2	1		1	10
Newfoundland	1	2				2	7
Northwest Territories		1	1				2
Nova Scotia	4	4	1			2	11
Ontario	43	17	14	9		10	99
Prince Edward Island	1	1	2				4
Quebec	9	6	6	10	5	39	75
Saskatchewan	3	2	4	2	1	2	14
Yukon						1	1
Totals	75	50	40	31	21	78	295

Table 2-55 Voter Turnout in Federal Elections, by Year and Province

Province	Mean	1935	1940	1945	1949	1953	1957	1958	1962
Alberta	70.2	65.3	64.3	73.4	69.3	62.6	73.0	74.4	74.3
British Columbia	74.7	76.5	77.9	79.5	69.0	65.1	74.3	75.9	77.6
Manitoba	73.8	75.3	75.5	75.5	71.7	59.4	74.2	80.1	77.2
New Brunswick	77.7	77.4	69.3	77.9	78.7	78.4	81.4	84.8	83.3
Newfoundland	63.5				57.7	57.4	51.9	78.6	72.0
Northwest Territories	69.2					63.9	62.9	73.6	72.1
Nova Scotia	77.3	76.4	71.1	71.7	75.4	71.6	81.1	84.3	83.7
Ontario	75.5	74.0	69.5	74.5	75.1	67.0	74.0	79.5	80.0
Prince Edward Island	84.0	80.4	78.3	81.0	85.3	83.6	85.4	88.2	90.2
Quebec	73.0	73.8	66.1	73.2	74.0	68.6	72.3	79.4	77.6
Saskatchewan	79.1	77.0	77.5	85.2	79.4	74.2	81.0	81.9	84.9
Yukon	79.0	70.1	83.0	62.8	75.3	75.9	88.7	90.1	88.4
Canada	74.5	74.2	69.9	75.3	73.8	66.9	74.0	79.4	80.1

Table 2-56 Federal By-Elections, 1935-1988

		Cons./ Prog. Cons. %	Liberal %
1935-1940			
January 6, 1936	Assiniboia (Sask.)		7,282 66.2
June 8, 1936	Victoria (B.C.)	5,977 34.0	5,725 32.5
October 26, 1936	Ottawa East (Ont.)		9,726 41.2
March 22, 1937	Bonaventure (Que.)	6,076 43.3	7,735 55.1
March 22, 1937	Hamilton West (Ont.)	8,102 42.8	7,295 38.5
April 5, 1937	Renfrew North (Ont.)	5,459 48.2	5,863 51.8
November 29, 1937	Victoria (B.C.)	7,654 32.3	9,493 40.1
December 27, 1937	Lotbiniere (Que.)		9,910 65.4
January 17, 1938	St.-Henri (Que.)		16,594 57.5
February 28, 1938	Argenteuil (Que.)	4,939 57.3	3,281 38.0
March 21, 1938	Edmonton East (Alta.)	2,466 12.2	7,920 39.0
November 14, 1938	Brandon (Man.)	5,600 35.5	6,583 41.8
November 14, 1938	London (Ont.)	11,364 58.2	
November 14, 1938	Waterloo South (Ont.)	7,776 51.7	3,730 24.8
December 18, 1939	Jacques-Cartier (Que.)		6,829 77.6
December 18, 1939	St.-James (Que.)		16,986 72.7
December 18, 1939	Saskatoon City (Sask.)		5,766 34.9
1940-1945			
August 19, 1940	Carleton (Ont.)	6,045 80.3	
August 19, 1940	Saskatoon City (Sask.)	4,798 31.5	2,421 15.9
August 19, 1940	Waterloo North (Ont.)	5,436 38.1	8,826 61.9
June 2, 1941	Edmonton East (Alta.)		7,306 51.8
February 9, 1942	Quebec East (Que.)		16,708 56.7

1963	1965	1968	1972	1974	1979	1980	1984	1988
78.8	73.7	73.3	75.6	67.4	68.5	60.6	69.1	75.0
80.4	75.2	75.9	73.2	72.1	74.7	70.6	77.6	79.1
77.8	73.8	75.9	74.3	70.8	76.9	69.4	73.2	74.7
80.6	80.1	80.1	77.0	71.2	74.3	71.2	77.3	76.4
68.8	65.6	68.0	63.1	57.7	60.0	58.9	65.5	67.8
73.1	76.3	69.3	73.5	61.1	69.7	66.9	67.9	70.9
81.6	81.8	82.3	79.6	74.1	75.4	71.5	75.4	75.7
81.0	76.7	77.3	79.3	74.6	78.2	71.8	75.8	74.8
84.5	88.0	88.0	85.6	80.3	81.1	79.3	84.6	85.9
76.3	70.7	72.3	75.5	67.4	76.0	68.1	76.2	75.3
83.1	79.5	80.5	79.1	72.9	79.3	71.5	77.9	77.9
88.0	86.5	86.8	79.6	67.3	74.3	69.0	77.9	78.8
79.2	74.8	75.7	76.7	71.0	75.8	69.3	75.3	75.5

CCF/NDP %		Social Credit %		Other %		Total
3,717	33.8					10,999
5,887	33.5					17,589
				13,856	58.8	23,582
				225	1.6	14,036
				3,536	18.7	18,933
						11,322
6,550	27.6					23,697
				5,239	34.6	15,149
				12,277	42.5	28,871
				405	4.7	8,625
		9,904	48.8			20,290
3,577	22.7					15,760
8,166	41.8					19,530
3,544	23.5					15,050
				1,976	22.4	8,805
				6,368	27.3	23,354
				10,756	65.1	16,522
		1,483	19.7			7,528
				7,998	52.6	15,217
						14,262
		4,199	29.8	2,605	18.5	14,110
				12,768	43.3	29,476

Table 2-56 (Continued)

		Cons./ Prog. Cons. %		Liberal %	
February 9, 1942	Ste.-Marie (Que.)			11,980	71.4
February 9, 1942	Welland (Ont.)			12,836	45.9
February 9, 1942	York South (Ont.)	11,952	42.1		
November 30, 1942	Charlevoix-Saguenay (Que.)				
November 30, 1942	Outremont (Que.)			12,378	64.0
November 30, 1942	Winnipeg North Centre (Man.)			4,718	28.5
August 9, 1943	Cartier (Que.)			4,180	22.0
August 9, 1943	Humboldt (Sask.)			5,287	36.6
August 9, 1943	Selkirk (Man.)			3,781	27.0
August 9, 1943	Stanstead (Que.)			5,349	43.6
February 5, 1945	Grey North (Ont.)	7,333	44.3	6,097	36.8
1945-1949					
August 6, 1945	Glengarry (Ont.)			4,551	93.3
September 16, 1946	Pontiac (Que.)	7,487	23.5	10,379	32.6
October 21, 1946	Parkdale (Ont.)	8,212	35.1	7,659	32.8
October 21, 1946	Portage-Laprairie (Man.)	4,805	40.8	4,137	35.2
December 23, 1946	Richelieu-Vercheres (Que.)	1,875	9.4	11,984	59.9
March 31, 1947	Cartier (Que.)			9,649	39.1
July 14, 1947	Halifax (N.S.)	13,768	25.3	24,469	45.0
October 20, 1947	York-Sunbury (N.B.)	8,119	34.0	12,237	51.3
May 31, 1948	Yale (B.C.)	7,953	28.1	7,500	26.5
June 8, 1948	Ontario (Ont.)	7,541	29.0	8,311	31.9
June 8, 1948	Vancouver Centre (B.C.)	4,965	22.7	7,348	33.7
October 25, 1948	Algoma East (Ont.)			4,685	56.4
October 25, 1948	Rosthern (Sask.)			6,233	52.5
December 13, 1948	Digby-Annapolis-Kings (N.S.)	14,057	49.3	12,469	43.7
December 20, 1948	Carleton (Ont.)	12,284	76.3		
December 20, 1948	Laval-Deux-Montagnes (Que.)			6,280	65.6
December 20, 1948	Marquette (Man.)			7,421	71.4
February 7, 1949	Nicolet-Yamaska (Que.)	8,382	49.5	8,095	47.8
1949-1953					
October 24, 1949	Gatineau (Que.)	2,705	29.1	5,438	58.6
October 24, 1949	Greenwood (Ont.)	9,399	40.2	7,230	30.9
October 24, 1949	Jacques-Cartier (Que.)			6,903	42.5
October 24, 1949	Kamouraska (Que.)			5,230	46.4
October 24, 1949	Laurier (Que.)			10,164	93.4
October 24, 1949	Mercier (Que.)			9,389	74.9
October 24, 1949	New Westminster (B.C.)	3,068	12.4	8,727	35.2
October 24, 1949	Restigouche-Madawaska (N.B.)			7,194	41.5
May 15, 1950	Broadview (Ont.)	10,399	48.1	6,055	28.0
May 15, 1950	Hamilton West (Ont.)	8,008	42.5	7,602	40.3
June 19, 1950	Annapolis-Kings (N.S.)	14,255	55.0	11,670	45.0
June 19, 1950	Cartier (Que.)	2,833	15.8	9,701	54.1
June 19, 1950	Halifax (N.S.)	13,696	31.7	24,665	57.1
October 16, 1950	Rimouski (Que.)			9,431	45.9
October 16, 1950	Ste.-Marie (Que.)			5,251	33.9

CCF/NDP %		Social Credit %		Other %		Total
				4,802	28.6	16,782
6,088	21.8			9,046	32.3	27,970
16,408	57.9					28,360
				19,455	100.0	19,455
				6,948	36.0	19,326
11,639	70.2			220	1.3	16,577
3,313	17.4			11,537	60.6	19,030
8,910	61.7	251	1.7			14,448
9,396	67.1	833	5.9			14,010
257	2.1			6,661	54.3	12,267
3,118	18.8					16,548
				325	6.7	4,876
1,975	6.2	11,412	35.9	572	1.8	31,825
6,470	27.7			1,030	4.4	23,371
2,821	24.0					11,763
		6,164	30.8			20,023
				15,055	60.9	24,704
16,151	29.7					54,388
3,514	14.7					23,870
12,838	45.4					28,291
10,187	39.1					26,039
9,518	43.6					21,831
2,382	28.7	1,236	14.9			8,303
3,278	27.6	2,369	19.9			11,880
1,992	7.0					28,518
3,371	20.9	451	2.8			16,106
				3,287	34.4	9,567
2,974	28.6					10,395
				469	2.8	16,946
				1,140	12.3	9,283
6,580	28.1			189	0.8	23,398
				9,327	57.5	16,230
				6,033	53.6	11,263
				713	6.6	10,877
				3,153	25.1	12,542
5,769	23.3			7,220	29.1	24,784
				10,124	58.5	17,318
4,975	23.0			184	0.9	21,613
3,235	17.2					18,845
						25,925
1,473	8.2			3,913	21.8	17,920
4,861	11.2					43,222
				11,100	54.1	20,531
				10,237	66.1	15,488

Table 2-56 (Continued)

		Cons./ Prog. Cons. %		Liberal %	
October 16, 1950	Welland (Ont.)	13,031	32.4	19,553	48.7
June 25, 1951	Brandon (Man.)	11,124	57.1	8,371	42.9
June 25, 1951	Queens (P.E.I.)	9,540	51.2	9,087	48.8
June 25, 1951	Waterloo South (Ont.)	8,950	42.2	6,483	30.6
June 25, 1951	Winnipeg South Centre (Man.)	6,009	43.6	5,273	38.3
December 10, 1951	Calgary West (Alta.)	10,686	47.3	6,424	28.4
May 26, 1952	Brome-Missisquoi (Que.)	6,013	40.0	8,394	55.8
May 26, 1952	Gloucester (N.B.)	11,245	52.3	10,256	47.7
May 26, 1952	Ontario (Ont.)	12,275	41.1	9,091	30.5
May 26, 1952	Roberval (Que.)	6,703	41.2	5,854	36.0
May 26, 1952	Victoria-Carleton (N.B.)	9,440	56.9	7,140	43.1
May 26, 1952	Waterloo North (Ont.)	10,892	38.9	12,436	44.4
October 6, 1952	Outremont-St.-Jean (Que.)	3,203	28.5	6,294	56.0
October 6, 1952	Richelieu-Vercheres (Que.)	4,374	24.8	13,285	75.2
1953-1957					
March 22, 1954	Elgin (Ont.)	11,821	52.5	10,680	47.5
March 22, 1954	Gatineau (Que.)	2,614	24.5	6,568	61.7
March 22, 1954	Peel (Ont.)	13,500	55.3	8,944	36.6
March 22, 1954	Verdun (Que.)	5,755	22.9	8,221	32.8
November 8, 1954	St.-Antoine-Westmount (Que.)	9,161	39.0	13,960	59.5
November 8, 1954	St.-Laurent-St.-Georges (Que.)	4,489	38.3	6,548	55.8
November 8, 1954	Selkirk (Man.)	2,471	14.8	5,715	34.3
November 8, 1954	Stormont (Ont.)	11,091	49.2	11,441	50.8
November 8, 1954	Trinity (Ont.)	4,237	29.3	5,589	38.6
November 8, 1954	York West (Ont.)	12,822	46.5	9,788	35.5
June 30, 1955	Battle River-Camrose (Alta.)			8,067	39.8
September 26, 1955	Bellechasse (Que.)	5,383	47.5	5,945	52.5
September 26, 1955	Quebec-Sud (Que.)	10,677	43.1	13,881	56.0
September 26, 1955	Restigouche-Madawaska (N.B.)	12,942	54.6	10,770	45.4
September 26, 1955	Temiscouata (Que.)	8,055	40.1	12,010	59.9
October 24, 1955	Spadina (Ont.)	6,740	34.4	6,096	31.1
December 19, 1955	St.-Jean-Iberville-Napierville (Que.)	2,997	13.8	9,920	45.7
1957-1958					
November 21, 1957	Hastings-Frontenac (Ont.)	10,513	97.5		
December 16, 1957	Yukon	2,365	51.4	2,237	48.6
1958-1962					
September 29, 1958	Grenville-Dundas (Ont.)	10,309	65.7	5,379	34.3
September 29, 1958	Montmagny-L'Islet (Que.)	7,796	54.5	6,516	45.5
December 15, 1958	Trinity (Ont.)	4,404	37.4	5,175	43.9
December 15, 1958	Springfield (Man.)	4,248	37.1	3,757	32.8
October 5, 1959	Hastings-Frontenac (Ont.)	9,079	72.9	3,383	27.1
October 5, 1959	Russell (Ont.)	14,152	39.0	21,070	58.0
October 31, 1960	Niagara Falls (Ont.)	8,309	29.3	13,428	47.3
October 31, 1960	Peterborough (Ont.)	10,246	35.5	5,394	18.7
October 31, 1960	Labelle (Que.)	7,235	43.1	9,540	56.9

CCF/NDP %		Social Credit %		Other %		Total
5,972	14.9			1,616	4.0	40,172
						19,495
						18,627
5,754	27.2					21,187
2,497	18.1					13,779
.		5,489	24.3			22,599
640	4.3					15,047
						21,501
8,464	28.4					29,830
				3,703	22.8	16,260
						16,580
4,701	16.8					28,029
1,135	10.1			603	5.4	11,235
						17,659
						22,501
674	6.3			796	7.5	10,652
1,985	8.1					24,429
2,745	10.9			8,377	33.4	25,098
				357	1.5	23,478
415	3.5			277	2.4	11,729
8,462	50.8					16,648
						22,532
3,700	25.6			953	6.6	14,479
4,711	17.1			282	1.0	27,603
3,753	18.5	8,455	41.7			20,275
						11,328
				231	0.9	24,789
						23,712
						20,065
2,873	14.7			3,894	19.9	19,603
				8,782	40.5	21,699
				266	2.5	10,779
						4,602
						15,688
						14,312
1,724	14.6			488	4.1	11,791
3,446	30.1					11,451
						12,462
1,077	3.0					36,299
6,627	23.4					28,364
13,207	45.8					28,847
						16,775

Table 2-56 (Continued)

		Cons./ Prog. Cons. %		Liberal %	
October 31, 1960	Royal (N.B.)	8,755	51.9	7,731	45.8
May 29, 1961	Leeds (Ont.)	8,804	43.7	11,352	56.3
May 29, 1961	Restigouche—Madawaska (N.B.)	14,566	51.8	13,544	48.2
May 29, 1961	Kings (P.E.I.)	4,472	50.9	4,309	49.1
May 29, 1961	Esquimalt—Saanich (B.C.)	8,554	30.9	8,010	29.0
1962-1963					
October 22, 1962	Burnaby—Coquitlam (B.C.)	5,282	16.3	8,029	24.8
1963-1965					
February 10, 1964	Laurier (Que.)	1,866	18.0	5,349	51.7
February 10, 1964	Saint-Denis (Que.)	4,768	30.8	7,781	50.3
June 22, 1964	Nipissing (Ont.)	8,581	32.8	14,002	53.5
June 22, 1964	Saskatoon (Sask.)	16,551	41.2	9,459	23.5
November 9, 1964	Waterloo South (Ont.)	10,078	35.9	5,563	19.8
November 9, 1964	Westmorland (N.B.)	14,090	38.0	20,401	55.0
1965-1968					
September 19, 1966	Nicolet—Yamaska (Que.)	6,842	41.4	7,936	48.0
September 19, 1966	Burin—Burgeo (Nfld.)	1,107	10.7	9,215	89.3
September 19, 1966	Grand Falls-White Bay-Labrador (Nfld.)	2,515	18.8	9,754	73.0
May 29, 1967	Sudbury (Ont.)	2,491	8.7	12,823	44.6
May 29, 1967	Hull (Que.)	939	4.1	11,854	52.2
May 29, 1967	Richelieu—Vercheres (Que.)	3,104	19.5	10,577	66.3
May 29, 1967	Outremont—Saint-Jean (Que.)			6,262	54.7
May 29, 1967	Papineau (Que.)	1,958	18.3	6,197	58.0
November 6, 1967	Colchester—Hants (N.S.)	15,389	92.1	1,098	6.6
November 6, 1967	Bonavista—Twillingate (Nfld.)	6,356	42.8	8,112	54.7
November 6, 1967	Jasper—Edson (Alta.)	6,818	54.4	3,957	31.6
1969-1972					
April 8, 1969	Comox—Alberni (B.C.)	2,350	8.6	12,357	45.2
February 10, 1969	Nanaimo—Cowichan—The Islands (B.C.)	1,966	5.7	12,897	37.3
April 13, 1970	Selkirk (Man.)	4,993	17.1	6,947	23.8
November 16, 1970	Frontenac (Que.)	2,154	9.3	13,404	57.6
November 16, 1970	Labelle (Que.)	4,870	23.3	12,604	60.3
November 16, 1970	Lisgar (Man.)	11,222	57.3	4,444	22.7
May 13, 1971	Brant (Ont.)	9,517	23.9	12,831	32.2
May 13, 1971	Chambly (Que.)	1,573	6.4	16,243	66.6
May 13, 1971	Trois-Rivieres (Que.)	1,827	6.8	12,809	47.7
May 13, 1971	Central Nova (N.S.)	15,359	52.6	11,200	38.3
November 8, 1971	Assiniboia (Sask.)	8,172	32.5	7,051	28.0
1972-1974: No by-elections were held in this period.					
1974-1979					
October 14, 1975	Hochelaga (Que.)	8,236	48.6	5,649	33.3
October 14, 1975	Restigouche (N.B.)	6,059	34.1	9,158	51.6

CCF/NDP %		Social Credit %		Other %		Total
				379	2.2	16,865
						20,156
						28,110
						8,781
6,481	23.4	4,466	16.2	131	0.5	27,642
16,313	50.4	2,562	7.9	162	0.5	32,348
688	6.6	2,232	21.6	216	2.1	10,351
605	3.9	2,052	13.3	251	1.6	15,457
3,581	13.7					26,164
14,168	35.3					40,178
12,417	44.3					28,058
2,615	7.0					37,106
588	3.6			1,173	7.1	16,539
						10,322
1,086	8.1					13,355
12,982	45.1	225	0.8	244	0.8	28,765
907	4.0			8,989	39.6	22,689
1,178	7.4			1,089	6.8	15,948
4,860	42.4			332	2.9	11,454
1,568	14.7			967	9.0	10,690
221	1.3					16,708
370	2.5					14,838
1,749	14.0					12,524
12,612	46.2					27,319
19,730	57.0					34,593
16,595	56.8	541	1.9	143	0.5	29,219
		7,721	33.2			23,279
		3,417	16.4			20,891
1,814	9.3	1,730	8.8	377	1.9	19,587
17,147	43.1	322	0.8			39,817
5,138	21.1			1,445	5.9	24,399
		11,616	43.3	592	2.2	26,844
1,940	6.6	714	2.4			29,213
9,956	39.5					25,179
675	4.0	1,729	10.2	666	3.9	16,955
1,392	7.8	1,140	6.4			17,749

Table 2-56 (Continued)

		Cons./ Prog. Cons. %		Liberal %	
October 18, 1976	Ottawa-Carleton (Ont.)	34,477	51.2	18,796	27.9
October 18, 1976	St. John's West (Nfld.)	11,719	48.3	3,971	16.4
May 24, 1977	Langelier (Que.)	3,952	21.6	12,171	66.5
May 24, 1977	Louis-Hebert (Que.)	9,142	21.5	30,763	72.3
May 24, 1977	Malpeque (P.E.I.)	4,532	47.1	4,657	48.4
May 24, 1977	Temiscamingue (Que.)	3,136	14.9	7,422	35.3
May 24, 1977	Terrebonne (Que.)	15,539	34.2	25,006	55.1
May 24, 1977	Verdun (Que.)	2,003	7.8	15,208	59.2
October 16, 1978	Hamilton-Wentworth (Ont.)	20,263	47.2	8,282	19.3
October 16, 1978	Ottawa Centre (Ont.)	12,078	44.5	7,361	27.1
October 16, 1978	Broadview (Ont.)	7,968	39.8	3,466	17.3
October 16, 1978	Eglinton (Ont.)	19,485	65.6	7,996	26.9
October 16, 1978	Parkdale (Ont.)	6,759	38.7	5,721	32.7
October 16, 1978	Rosedale (Ont.)	18,732	57.9	10,119	31.3
October 16, 1978	York-Scarborough (Ont.)	55,455	64.9	21,431	25.1
October 16, 1978	Lotbiniere (Que.)	6,916	19.1	11,955	33.0
October 16, 1978	Saint-Hyacinthe (Que.)	16,559	41.2	21,515	53.5
October 16, 1978	Westmount (Que.)	9,391	32.7	17,214	59.9
October 16, 1978	Halifax-East Hants (N.S.)	18,767	60.6	10,161	32.8
October 16, 1978	Fundy-Royal (N.B.)	17,327	52.5	12,241	37.1
October 16, 1978	Saint-Boniface (Man.)	18,552	42.6	13,804	31.7
October 16, 1978	Burnaby-Richmond-Delta (B.C.)	30,395	63.5	4,713	9.8
October 16, 1978	Humber-St. Georges-St. Barbe (Nfld.)	5,851	20.5	10,322	36.1
1979-1980					
November 19, 1979	Prince Albert (Sask.)	10,385	36.0	7,336	25.5
November 19, 1979	Burin-Saint Georges (Nfld.)	4,308	22.3	10,434	54.0
1980-1984					
September 8, 1980	Hamilton West (Ont.)	9,882	31.9	12,565	40.6
April 13, 1981	Cardigan (P.E.I.)	7,813	46.9	8,166	49.0
April 13, 1981	London West (Ont.)	21,022	44.8	21,952	46.8
May 4, 1981	Levis (Que.)	10,052	29.7	15,591	46.0
August 17, 1981	Spadina (Ont.)	6,581	29.7	7,372	33.3
August 17, 1981	Joliette (Que.)	24,434	65.3	11,450	30.6
October 12, 1982	Leeds-Grenville (Ont.)	18,401	57.0	6,693	20.7
October 12, 1982	Timiskaming (Ont.)	9,029	35.7	8,341	33.0
October 12, 1982	Broadview-Greenwood (Ont.)	4,999	17.8	2,728	9.7
May 24, 1983	Brandon-Souris (Man.)	19,330	62.2	5,369	17.3
August 19, 1983	Central Nova (N.S.)	18,882	60.2	7,858	25.0
August 19, 1983	Mission-Port Moody (B.C.)	21,590	50.7	2,207	5.2
1984-1988					
September 19, 1986	Saint-Maurice (Que.)	6,666	20.0	19,608	58.9
September 19, 1986	Pembina (Alta.)	16,525	37.0	6,505	14.6
July 20, 1987	Yukon (Yukon)	2,660	27.2	3,155	32.2
July 20, 1987	Hamilton Mountain (Ont.)	5,500	16.1	13,226	38.6
July 20, 1987	St. John's East (Nfld.)	12,102	34.9	5,955	17.2
June 20, 1988	Lac-St-Jean (Que.)	16,989	55.4	10,726	35.0

CCF/NDP %		Social Credit %		Other %		Total
12,777	19.0			1,318	2.0	67,368
8,597	35.4					24,287
1,104	6.0	618	3.4	446	2.4	18,291
		1,652	3.9	1,021	2.4	42,578
393	4.1			46	0.5	9,628
377	1.8	9,603	45.7	495	2.4	21,033
1,299	2.9	1,949	4.3	1,608	3.5	45,401
8,151	31.7	173	0.7	175	0.7	25,710
14,105	32.8			301	0.7	42,951
7,470	27.5			254	0.9	27,163
8,388	41.9			204	1.0	20,026
2,246	7.6					29,727
4,806	27.5			190	1.1	17,476
3,008	9.3			471	1.5	32,330
7,681	9.0			912	1.1	85,479
962	2.7	16,358	45.2			36,191
1,259	3.1	889	2.2			40,222
1,817	6.3			305	1.1	28,727
1,697	5.5			355	1.1	30,980
3,434	10.4					33,002
9,570	22.0	1,204	2.8	442	1.0	43,572
11,308	23.6			1,467	3.1	47,883
12,386	43.4					28,559
10,941	38.0			147	0.5	28,809
4,587	23.7					19,329
8,172	26.4			341	1.1	30,960
674	4.0					16,653
3,802	8.1			168	0.4	46,944
5,235	15.5	367	1.1	2,612	7.7	33,857
7,586	34.3			589	2.7	22,128
281	0.8	92	0.2	1,149	3.1	37,406
2,751	8.5			4,436	13.7	32,281
7,654	30.3			236	0.9	25,260
10,967	39.1			9,351	33.3	28,045
6,381	20.5					31,080
4,202	13.4			430	1.4	31,372
18,314	43.0			508	1.2	42,619
6,484	19.5			532	1.6	33,290
16,251	36.4			5,355	12.0	44,636
3,487	35.6			481	4.9	9,783
14,894	43.5	150	0.4	495	1.4	34,265
16,086	46.4			533	1.5	34,676
2,961	9.7					30,676

3 The Regional Results

In understanding Canadian society and politics, much less its elections and voting, account must be taken of the effects of regionalism. Indeed, this is one of the principal themes of commentary on Canada. In discussing regionalism it is not uncommon to divide the nation into six distinct areas. These are:

- The Maritime or Atlantic Provinces: New Brunswick, Newfoundland (starting in 1949), Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.
- Three provinces (Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia), each standing alone as a distinct region.
- The Prairie Provinces: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.
- The Northern Territories: Yukon and the Northwest Territory.

This last is an addition to the five used by Scarrow.¹

In the last chapter we made occasional reference to the distinctions between regions, insofar as electoral success or failure was concerned. These differences should be made more apparent by the data which follow. Our procedure is to initially reconfigure the data from chapter 2, organizing the returns for the elections by region instead of province. From this we proceed to summarize results by region.

The Individual Elections

1935

The distorting effect of Canadian elections is quite clear in this particular year. That single-member with plurality district elections do not necessarily give a proportional result is a given. As Rae has pointed out, “many electoral laws

produce recurring and systematic ‘mutations’ or distortions in the translation of voting returns into allotments of parliamentary seats.”² In this election the Liberals were “overrepresented” by 25.7 percent, but considerably more so in the Maritimes (41.7 percent) and Quebec (30.2 percent). In the Prairie Provinces in particular, the effect is quite startling. There, with 35.3 percent of the vote they won a sheer majority (56.4 percent) of the seats.

The Liberal sweep took place in all regions, the most pronounced being in the Maritimes, where Liberals won 25 of 26 seats and received their highest proportion of votes. Quebec was only narrowly behind the Maritimes in this regard. Ontario was kindest to the defeated Conservatives, giving them 25 of the 40 seats they won. The newly organized third parties were limited in their electoral successes to the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia. Interestingly, Social Credit was able, like the Liberals in the east, to receive a higher share of seats than votes, but not to an unusual degree.³ (see table 3–1 at end of text)

1940

While the Liberals were able to increase the size of their representation from 173 to 181 seats on a national basis, they lost 6 seats in the Maritimes: 5 to the Tories and 1 to the CCF. This was offset by a gain of 6 seats in Quebec, one of their traditional strongholds. Liberal strength also increased in Ontario (1 seat), the Prairie Provinces (3 seats), and British Columbia (4 seats).

Despite a small loss of popular votes, the Conservatives were able to retain their 40 seats with minor changes. They picked up 5 seats in the Maritimes from the Liberals, lost 4 in Que-

bec, and lost another in British Columbia. However, they held their own in Ontario and the Prairie Provinces.

The CCF attempted to expand its base, winning a seat in the Maritimes, the first of the seven occasions this has happened. An additional 2 seats were won in the Prairie Provinces, but this was offset by an equal loss in British Columbia. Its major loss was in the popular vote in Ontario, where its support was cut in half. Social Credit was the principal loser in this election. Expanding beyond its Prairie base of 1935, it lost 7 seats there, and its popular vote was severely eroded.

(see table 3–2 at end of text)

1945

With a sharply reduced delegation in Commons, down from 181 after the 1940 elections to 125, the Liberals suffered losses not only to the Progressive Conservatives, but also to the minor parties. The Maritimes held firm for the Liberals, despite a loss of 5 percent in the popular vote. In Quebec their support dropped 12.5 percent in the popular vote, and 8 seats were lost to various dissident candidates, including 2 to the Bloc Populaire Canadien and 4 to Independents. It was in Ontario that the Liberals suffered their greatest setback. Having previously benefited from a disproportional relationship between shares of votes and seats received, they now lost badly. With just less than the Tory vote, the Liberals lost 22 seats to the Tories and 1 to the CCF. Hence, the Tories were able to hold a majority of seats in the nation's electorally largest province and region. Another 20 seats were lost in the Prairie Provinces. Three of these were to the Tories, 12 to the CCF, and 3 more to Social Credit. The Liberal delegation from British Columbia was also halved, cut to 5 seats.

The minor parties did especially well in this election, and this was largely in the Prairie Provinces. Of the CCF gain of 20 seats, 17 were in this region. Social Credit's gain of 3 seats also took place there, despite an attempt to further broaden their base into other regions. Hence,

between them, one party on the left and the other party on the right now controlled a majority of seats in the Prairies.
(see table 3–3 at end of text)

1949

The Liberal "comeback" in this election, giving them one of the strongest positions ever held by either major party, was seen in every region. This is one of only three elections in the 1935–1988 period (the others being the Progressive Conservative victories in 1958 and 1984) in which a party received a majority of seats in all regions. Their gains came at the expense of all parties as well, indicating an unusual breadth to their sweep. Once again, the Liberals were able to profit from a disproportionate share of seats as compared to votes, especially in Quebec, one of only two regions where a majority of votes was received. Here they won 32.8 percent more seats than they did popular votes, thereby capturing their largest single delegation. Again reduced to a weak position in Commons, the Tories suffered reverses across the board, as did the minor parties.

Even in Ontario the Tories were capable of winning less than a third of all seats. While the CCF lost more than half of its delegation, going from 28 to 13 seats, it was able to increase its popular vote in Ontario and to win a seat there from the Progressive Conservatives. It also picked up a seat in the Prairies (Manitoba), despite its loss of 16 seats in the Prairies to the Liberals. Social Credit, on the other hand, managed to marginally increase its popular vote total, mainly on the basis of an improved position in Quebec, while losing 3 seats in the Prairies to the Liberals.

(see table 3–4 at end of text)

1953

Still maintaining a large lead in Commons, the Liberals were able to command a majority of votes once again in Quebec and the Maritimes. A comfortable majority of seats was retained in these two regions and in Ontario as well, despite the loss of 1 seat in the Maritimes, 2 in

Quebec, and 5 in Ontario. The most serious losses they encountered were in the Prairies, as 14 seats were lost there. Two of these were to the Progressive Conservatives, 6 to the CCF, and 1 to the Socreds. The remainder of these seats was lost through redistribution, as the Prairie Provinces had a net loss of 5 seats.

Interestingly, although the Liberal vote fell in the Prairies, so did that of the Tories and the CCF. Only Social Credit saw a vote increase in that region. Consequently, it would appear that what gains the Tories made in the Prairies were a result of their being better able to capture a proportion of seats somewhat closer to their vote share (differences of 10.1 percent in 1949 and 4.5 percent in 1953).

The minor parties fared better in this election overall. The CCF picked up an additional seat in Ontario, 6 more in the Prairies, and 4 more in British Columbia. Social Credit also gained 1 seat in the Prairies and 4 in British Columbia, marking the first time it won seats outside of the Prairie Provinces.
(see table 3–5 at end of text)

1957

This election, the first victory for the Tories since 1930, produced a minority government. The Liberals lost 67 seats, almost all of them to the Progressive Conservatives. For the first time, the Tories were able to win a majority of seats from the Maritime Provinces. As events turned out, this was to become more or less a rule of subsequent elections, broken only in 1963, 1980, and 1988. Of interest in this regard is the fact that although the Liberal and Tory vote totals in the Maritimes were roughly equal, the Liberals suffered from the disproportional factor to which we have referred in previous elections. Only the Northern Territories and Quebec, the latter normally a party stronghold, gave a majority of their seats to the Liberals.

The Progressive Conservative victory was forged not only in the Maritimes with a gain of 7 seats but, more consequentially, in Ontario and the West. Ontario provided a gain of 28 seats to the Tories. The Prairies provided 4 more

seats over 1953, and British Columbia added another 3.

The minor parties each made small improvements in their positions. Having lost their seat in the Maritimes, the CCF added 2 seats in Ontario, and 1 in the Prairies, while holding their own in British Columbia. Social Credit was able to pick up 2 seats each in the Prairies and British Columbia, thus strengthening its position in the west.

(see table 3–6 at end of text)

1958

The Progressive Conservative victory came about through impressive gains in all regions. They were able to produce popular vote majorities in the Maritimes, the Prairies, and came very close to majorities in the others as well. Consequently, this was one of only three elections in which any party was able to win a majority of seats in all regions. Most impressive in this regard was the capturing of Quebec for the first time in this period. The only other elections in which this was to happen were in 1984 (another year in which there was what can be fairly described as a Tory landslide) and 1988, when the Tories built their majority on an improved showing in Quebec. Similarly, the Tories were able to win all but 1 seat in the Prairies, and that seat was won by the CCF.

Thus, the Liberals suffered significant losses in all regions in terms of both the popular vote as well as seats. Completely shut out of any seats in British Columbia and the Prairies, they won less than 20 percent of the vote in these two regions and less than a third in Ontario.

This election represented a major loss for the minor parties. The CCF was able to hold three seats in Ontario, but lost 14 in the Prairies and 3 in British Columbia. However, boding well for the future, their total vote fell very little, by approximately 15,000, and their vote share was only marginally reduced. Social Credit, on the other hand, lost all 19 of its seats on the basis of a sharply reduced vote in all regions except for Quebec.

(see table 3–7 at end of text)

1962

The return to minority government under Diefenbaker left the Progressive Conservatives with a majority of seats only in the Maritimes and the Prairies. In no region did any party register a majority of the popular vote, quite unlike the Tory 1958 sweep. The Tories lost not only votes but seats in every region except for the Northern Territories. In the critical Ontario contests they slipped 32 seats, from 67 to 35, and their temporary hold on 50 seats in Quebec also dropped, to 14.

While doubling their representation, the Liberals were not the sole beneficiary of Tory losses. Indeed, they were able to command a majority of seats only in Ontario. Notable in this regard is the fact that they could only win back 1 seat in the Prairies, and 4 in British Columbia.

Hence, the real beneficiaries of Tory losses were the minor parties. The NDP, running for the first time under this label, went over the million vote mark for the first time, a position from which they were never to retreat in the future. In their gain of 12 seats, the most significant improvement was in the Prairies, going from 4 in 1958 to 10. Perhaps the most startling change was that for Social Credit, coming back from no seats at all in 1958 to winning 30 seats. This was the most it had ever won or would win in future elections. Especially noteworthy in this regard was the changed nature of its support: it won 26 seats in Quebec, where it had never won before.⁵

(see table 3–8 at end of text)

1963

The change from one minority government to another—Tory to Liberal—was accomplished with an improved vote for the Liberals in all regions except for the Northern Territories. In the Maritimes the Liberals received the highest proportion of the vote they were to get in ensuing elections and improved their position by 6 seats. Quebec also backed the Liberals with 12 additional seats, based on an improvement in the popular vote of more than 6 percent. In the critical Ontario ridings the Liberals picked up

another 8 seats, and 3 more from British Columbia helped to consolidate their position even further.

However, in the Prairie Provinces the Liberals were able to gain only 1 seat, with a vote improvement of barely more than 2 percent. Here the Tories held firm, perhaps reflecting the base of support built up by its native son, Prime Minister Diefenbaker. Indeed, it was in these provinces that the Tories were able to ring up the highest vote percentage of any party in any region.

The third parties slipped somewhat in this election. The NDP lost one seat each in the Maritimes (leaving them with none from this region), the Prairies, and British Columbia, while their votes slipped, however marginally, in all regions. Social Credit lost 6 seats in Quebec, despite a higher vote total and percentage than in 1962, while holding on to 2 seats each in British Columbia and the Prairies.

(see table 3–9 at end of text)

1965

This election saw a marginally improved position for all parties but Social Credit. While the Liberals were able to gain 2 seats overall, leaving them again in control of a minority government, this came about through shifts in regional support. Quebec provided a gain of 9 seats on the basis of the same proportion of popular vote which they had attracted in the previous election. Noteworthy in this context was the first electoral appearance of Pierre Elliot Trudeau, a former Progressive Conservative. However, this gain was offset by losses elsewhere. In the Maritimes, for instance, they dropped 5 seats to the Tories, on a falloff in popular support of little more than 2 percent. Ontario also provided a net loss of 1 seat for the Liberals, and 2 more seats were lost in the Prairies. One of the Northern Territories seats was recovered by the Liberals, leaving them with a net gain of 2 seats.

The Tories also suffered some reverses, despite advancing 2 seats overall. Gains were made in the Maritimes (5 seats) and the Prairies

(1 seat). Countering these gains were losses in Ontario (2 seats), British Columbia, and the Northern Territories (1 seat each).

The NDP had an increase in popular vote of almost 5 percent, improving in every region. A gain of 3 seats was recorded in Ontario and 1 seat in Manitoba, while 9 seats were retained in British Columbia. However, the most notable changes took place in Social Credit. Divided into two wings, its dissident element in Quebec under the banner of Ralliement Creditiste lost 11 seats. In the west 1 seat was gained in British Columbia.

(see table 3–10 at end of text)

1968

This election showed regional change and influence in a way unlike many others. Restoring majority government to the Liberals for the first time since their 1953 victory, gains were made virtually across the board, with the major exception of the Maritimes. Here, on a loss of just 6 percent of the popular vote, the Liberal delegation was cut from 15 to 7 seats, with the Tories acquiring all of the lost seats. Quebec and the Northern Territories were the only two regions which gave a majority of their popular vote to the Liberals. Ironically, there was no change in terms of seats gained for the Liberals in either region. I say “ironically” because one might have expected Trudeau, as a Quebec native son, to have increased his party’s share of seats as well as votes.

Rather, Liberal gains, impressive as they were, took place to the west of Quebec. More than half of their gain took place in Ontario, where they picked up 13 seats. The Prairies showed the Liberals’ most significant advance, going from 1 to 11 seats, and 9 more seats were added in British Columbia. Notable in this regard were the Prairie Provinces, for the Liberals were never again to do as well there in terms of either seats or popular votes through 1988.

The only region in which the Progressive Conservatives showed any significant and positive improvement was in the Maritimes, where they were able to win a majority of the popu-

lar vote and gain 7 seats. Elsewhere, with the exception of the Northern Territories, they lost seats, even though their vote remained relatively constant overall.

The outcomes for the minor parties were similar to 1965, despite some fluidity in the vote. The NDP gained one seat overall, on the basis of losing 3 in Ontario and 2 in British Columbia, but gaining 6 in the Prairie Provinces, normally their strongest area. Despite this, their proportion of the vote declined marginally. Social Credit, with the splinter faction in Quebec gone, picked up 5 seats in that province, on a slightly lower share of the vote. However, it lost the 2 seats it had held in the Prairies and the 3 in British Columbia, largely by not contesting elections there. From this election forward, when the Socreds were to win at all, they would do so only in Quebec.

(see table 3–11 at end of text)

1972

Once again a minority government was made necessary, under Liberal direction. The government’s losses in the popular vote took place across the board in every region. Seats were gained only in the Maritime Provinces (3), but, with the exception of Quebec which held even, the losses were dramatic indeed.

In Ontario the Progressive Conservatives were able to go from 17 to 40 seats, but the NDP profited there as well, picking up 5 additional seats from the Liberals. The Tories also made significant gains in the Prairie Provinces, picking up 9 seats. Four of these were in Alberta, where the Liberals were not to win any seats again through the rest of this period. An additional seat in the Prairies was lost to the Tories by the NDP.

British Columbia was an especially bright spot for the Progressive Conservatives, as they won 8 of the 23 seats there, having won none at all in 1968. In this region the Liberals lost 12 seats, of which 4 went to the NDP. The only region where the Liberals were completely shut out was the Northern Territories, where they lost their 1 seat to the NDP, the first time that

this region had given a seat to one of the minor parties.

Social Credit contested more seats in more regions than it had in 1968, but won all 15 of its seats in Quebec on an increase of 8 percent in its share of the popular vote there. This was to be the most seats the Socreds would win through 1988.

(see table 3–12 at end of text)

1974

With a majority government restored, the Liberals gained seats in all regions except for the Northern Territories. In the Maritimes their vote share increased almost 5 percent, and 3 additional seats were secured. Quebec, the only region to give the Liberals a majority of the popular vote, was able to add 4 seats to the Liberal column. This apparently took place at the expense of Social Credit, which lost an equivalent number of seats there. The critical role played by Ontario was demonstrated by an increase of almost 7 percent in the Liberal vote, resulting in a net gain of 19 seats there. Even the Prairie Provinces were able to add 2 more seats for the Liberals, bringing them up to 5, the most the Liberals had won there since 1968 or were to win again within this period.⁶ However, this increase came about with only a marginal hike in the popular vote. British Columbia also gave the Liberals an increase of 4 seats and an improved share of the popular vote.

While the Progressive Conservatives suffered a loss of 12 seats overall, their share of the popular vote actually increased marginally, including increases of roughly 4 percent in Quebec, Ontario, and the Prairie Provinces. In this latter region they were able to show a majority of the popular vote in this election and subsequent elections through 1984. Their greatest improvement was in British Columbia, where they added 5 seats on the basis of a vote share improvement of almost 9 percent.

The minor parties suffered losses each in its own manner on a regional basis. Although the NDP lost 15 seats overall, they were able to gain one back in the Maritimes and retain the

seat they held in the Northern Territories. Social Credit lost only 4 seats it had held in Quebec, but lost more than 7 percent of the popular vote there, in the only region in which it had been able to win seats since 1965.

(see table 3–13 at end of text)

1979

With less than 36 percent of the popular vote, the Progressive Conservatives were able to win almost 50 percent of the seats, thereby creating the need for another minority government. Hence, we have another example of a disproportionate share of seats being won so as to affect the election outcome.

This was most obviously and importantly the case in Ontario, the region with more than one-third of all seats. On the basis of an improvement of less than 7 percent in the vote, the Tories had a net gain of 32 seats, some of these coming about through the effects of redistribution, which had added 8 seats in Ontario. Similarly, an improvement of roughly 2 percent in the British Columbia vote for the Tories led to an increase there of 6 seats.

However, despite an increase of almost 8 percent in their vote in Quebec, the Tories lost 1 seat, while the Liberals were able to profit from the effects of disproportionality there. In this region the Liberals picked up 7 seats, principally at the expense of Social Credit. The latter party actually had an overall vote increase, albeit only in Quebec, but lost 5 of its remaining seats. This was to be the last time in this period that Social Credit was to win seats.

The NDP, on the basis of an improvement of less than 3 percent in its vote was able to win an additional 10 seats. One of these was in the Maritimes, 5 in the Prairies, and 6 in British Columbia, this total offset by a loss of 2 seats in Ontario.

(see table 3–14 at end of text)

1980

The short-lived minority Tory government was replaced as a consequence of voting shifts to the Liberals in all but British Columbia. How-

ever, despite these shifts, the Liberals were unable to win more than 2 seats west of Ontario, and these in Manitoba. Thus, the Liberals, even more so than ever before, were a party of eastern Canada.

In the Maritimes the Liberals were able to pick up the 2 seats won by the NDP in the 1979 election, as well as 5 which had been held by the Tories. It was in Quebec however, more so than in any other region, where the Liberal victory was put together. In the most massive sweep ever of that region, the Liberals won 74 of 75 seats on the strength of roughly two-thirds of the popular vote. And in Ontario the Liberals were able to reclaim 20 seats, 19 from the Tories and 1 from the NDP. Interestingly, although the Liberals had the highest vote share in the Northern Territories, they were unable to win either of the seats there.

The Progressive Conservatives, although having lost the election, could now make the unique claim of being a truly national party, as it was the only party able to win at least one seat in every region. Clearly, it was weakest in Quebec for the moment, but that was to be expected, since Quebec was normally a Liberal stronghold.

The NDP, having lost its foothold of 2 seats in the Maritimes, was nonetheless able to improve its overall position by 6 seats. Unlike the Liberals, who were by now an eastern party, the NDP was able to win all of its seats west of Quebec. Although it lost a seat in Ontario, it gained 5 in the Prairie Provinces and 4 in British Columbia. Social Credit, on the other hand, having lost its seats in Quebec, was left without representation in Commons for the first time since the 1958 election. This was only the second time in its history that this had happened, but it established a pattern for future elections. (see table 3–15 at end of text)

1984

The massive post-Trudeau sweep by the Progressive Conservatives took place in all regions of the country, reinforcing at least for a time their claim of being a national party. Vote majorities

were achieved in the Maritimes, Quebec, and the Prairie Provinces, while they won a majority of seats in all regions.

While the Tories had typically displayed some measure of strength in all regions in the past, nowhere was their victory quite so startling, or so dramatic a turnaround, as that in Quebec. Four years earlier they had won just 1 seat there, on the strength of less than 13 percent of the vote. Now, led by native son and French speaker Brian Mulroney, they were able to win a majority of votes and 58 of the 75 seats. They also almost doubled their representation from the Maritimes, from 13 to 25 seats, on the strength of an improvement of almost 17 percent in the vote. In Ontario they were able to leave the Liberals with just one more seat than the NDP. The Prairie Provinces provided the Tories with a net gain of 6 seats, and British Columbia added 3 more to their total.

The Liberals, reduced to even fewer seats than they had held after the 1958 election, clearly showed weakness in all regions. Once again they were barely able to make much of a showing west of Ontario, winning only 1 seat in Manitoba and less than one-sixth of the popular vote in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia.

Considering the breadth and scope of the Tory sweep, the NDP's loss of only 2 seats is somewhat surprising. Again, it was unable to win east of Ontario, but in that province it gained 8 seats, leaving it scarcely behind the Liberals there. This was offset by losses of 5 seats in the Prairies, 4 in British Columbia, and 1 in the Northern Territories.

(see table 3–16 at end of text)

1988

As the initial election returns came in, it appeared that the Liberals, if not winning a majority government, were at last healthy again, given their comeback in the Maritimes. From having only 7 of the 32 seats there with a vote share of about a third, they improved to 20 seats and 46 percent of the vote. This was, however, to be the only region in which they fared so well.

The Tories suffered losses in all regions except for Quebec, where they gained five seats to 63, along with a marginal increase in the popular vote. It must be borne in mind that Quebec was typically a Liberal bastion, and as recently as 1980 had given only one of its 75 seats to the Tories. It would seem that the combination of native son and francophone Brian Mulroney, plus widespread approval of the Free Trade Treaty with the United States, provided the basis for the Tories' victory there. Not only did the Liberals do poorly in Quebec, but the NDP was apparently able to capture some of the the Tories' support, showing an increase of more than 5 percent in its popular vote.

Elsewhere, the Tories suffered losses in the remaining regions, notably Ontario (down 21 seats and 24 percent in the vote) and British Columbia (down 7 seats and 32 percent in the vote). However, they were able to minimize their seat losses sufficiently so as to guarantee themselves a comfortable majority.

Despite a marginal increase in its popular vote, finally (but barely) breaking the 20 percent barrier, the NDP was able to score increases in its share of seats from 30 to 43. This occurred principally in British Columbia, where the party went from 8 to 19 seats, and in the Prairie Provinces (from 9 to 13 seats). Finally, Social Credit all but disappeared, running 6 of its 9 candidates in Quebec, doing poorly in every instance. (see table 3–17 at end of text)

The Individual Regions⁷

The Maritimes

This region has been one of the more competitive in Canada, especially for the two major parties. The Liberals have generally been dominant, but both parties have profited, on average, from receiving a proportion of seats of less than 5 percent of the proportion of votes received. Hence, despite the occasional variation, there has not been a history of a disproportionate result.

Third parties have not fared especially well here, although the CCF/NDP has had occasional successes, winning 1 seat in each of six elec-

tions, and 2 in another. Social Credit was unable to win a single seat in this region and never won as much as 3 percent of the popular vote.

That the region is competitive is evidenced by the fact that only in this and the Prairie Provinces did either major party (the Liberals in both cases) contest every seat in every election. The Progressive Conservatives contested just 3 fewer seats than did the Liberals in these 17 elections. In 7 straight elections, starting with 1968, the NDP also fielded a candidate in every contest.

On the other hand, electoral margins have changed rather dramatically. On average, about 40 percent of all contests have been decided by margins of less than 10 percent. However, since 1972 this margin has dropped to 25 percent, while almost half the contests have been decided by 20 percent or more. (see tables 3–18, 3–19, and 3–20 at end of text)

Quebec

These data are included only for purposes of comparison. Since the data are the same, the reader is referred to chapter 8 for a more extended discussion. (see tables 3–21, 3–22, and 3–23 at end of text)

Ontario

These data are included only for purposes of comparison. Since the data are the same, the reader is referred to chapter 9 for a more extended discussion. (see tables 3–24, 3–25, and 3–26 at end of text)

The Prairie Provinces

In a broad sense, this can be termed a highly competitive region, and not just for the two major parties. At the outset, for a period lasting through several elections, the Liberals were clearly dominant, although the other three parties were never without representation. However, starting with the Diefenbaker election of 1957, the Liberals have been in a period of long-term decline.⁸ Indeed, of the two major parties as well as the CCF/NDP, they are the only party to be completely denied representation in an election (1958). And, we should point out, of all the parties, they are the only one to have

contested every election in this period.

Clearly, a significant factor which had made this region so competitive has been the presence of the two minor parties, each with its own broad base of support. Only here and in British Columbia has this been the case, although British Columbia was less supportive of Social Credit at the national level. However, the label of "region" masks certain inherent differences between each province. Alberta, for instance, has had a markedly lower level of voter support for the CCF/NDP than have Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Only in 1988 was the first NDP Member of Parliament elected by Alberta. For that matter, Manitoba has never elected any Social Credits to federal office. Yet each province has elected members of all parties to its legislative assembly.

It is in these Prairie Provinces that we find the "home" of the two minor parties.⁹ Alberta, as shall be seen in chapter 12, is where Social Credit got its start, and the CCF/NDP has been strongest from the outset in Saskatchewan, a point which is made clearer in chapter 11. Hence, we find that the minor parties have contested a far greater proportion of seats here than elsewhere. For that matter, the CCF/NDP in this region has actually contested more seats than have the Tories.

Given all this, we find that the Prairies have somewhat more competitive elections, in terms of not only seats won but also electoral margins than is typically found elsewhere.
(see tables 3–27, 3–28, and 3–29 at end of text)

British Columbia

These data are included only for purposes of comparison. Since the data are the same, the reader is referred to chapter 13 for a more extended discussion.
(see tables 3–30, 3–31, and 3–32 at end of text)

The Northern Territories

Although the largest region in terms of sheer size, this area is the least represented, a natural consequence of its small population. Until the distinction was made which led to the Northwest Territories being represented separately, the data presented are those for the Yukon alone.

The results of a recent redistribution added an additional Member of Parliament for the Northwest Territories.

Initially a bastion of support for the Tories, the Northern Territories have, on the whole, been competitive in terms of votes received and electoral margins, if not always in terms of the way they have resulted in seats won. On a strict average vote per party, it would appear that this is the most competitive region, as the two major parties are divided by less than 1 percent. However, the Tories have won twice as many seats as have the Liberals, another example of the disproportionality problem. Of the minor parties, only the NDP has been able to win any seats. Social Credit entered very few contests in this period and was not able to translate its votes into a consistent base of support sufficient to win any contests.
(see tables 3–33, 3–34, and 3–35 at end of text)

Notes

1. Howard A. Scarrow, *Canada Votes: A Handbook of Federal and Provincial Election Data* (New Orleans: Hauser Press, 1962), tables 73 and 74, pp. 234 and 237.
2. Douglas W. Rae, *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 48.
3. On this point, see Alan C. Cairns, "The Electoral System and the Party System in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1 (March 1968), 59ff.
4. A useful and provocative collection of essays on various aspects of this election can be found in John A. Meisel, ed., *Papers on the 1962 Election* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964).
5. On the basis of the support for Social Credit in Quebec, see Maurice Pinard, *The Rise of a Third Party: A Study in Crisis Politics* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971). See also Graham White, "One-Party Dominance and Third Parties: The Pinard Theory Reconsidered," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 6 (September 1973), 399–421, and Pinard's rejoinder, "Third Parties in Canada Revisited: A Rejoinder and Elaboration of the Theory of One-Party Dominance," *ibid.*, 439–60.
6. On this decline of the Liberals, see David E. Smith, *The Regional Decline of a National Party: Liberals on the Prairies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).
7. A useful bibliography on each region and province, the Northern Territories excepted, can be found in Dyck, *op. cit.*, 587–616.
8. See Smith, *op. cit.*
9. See Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, 2d ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968).

Table 3-1 1935—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	1	3.8	167,640	32.8	25	96.2	278,628	54.5				
Quebec	5	7.7	322,794	28.2	55	84.6	623,579	54.4			7,326	0.6
Ontario	25	30.5	562,513	35.3	56	68.3	680,417	42.7			127,927	8.0
Prairie Provinces	3	5.5	180,888	20.4	31	56.4	305,547	35.3	4	7.3	158,917	18.1
British Columbia	5	31.3	71,034	24.6	6	37.5	91,729	31.8	3	18.8	225,011	33.5
Northern Territories	1	100.0	696	55.6			555	44.4				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	40	16.3	1,305,565	29.6	173	70.6	1,980,455	44.9	7	2.9	391,185	8.9
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 3-2 1940—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
New Brunswick	6	23.1	215,204	41.6	19	73.1	271,561	52.5	1	3.8	18,476	3.6
Quebec	1	1.5	231,824	19.8	61	93.8	741,945	63.3			7,610	0.6
Ontario	25	30.5	687,816	42.7	57	69.5	818,154	50.8			61,166	3.8
Prairie Provinces	3	5.5	169,852	17.7	34	61.8	413,070	43.1	6	10.9	202,797	21.2
British Columbia	4	25.0	110,619	30.5	10	62.5	135,920	37.4	1	6.3	103,181	28.4
Northern Territories	1	100.0	915	53.6			793	46.4				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	40	16.3	1,416,230	30.7	181	73.9	2,381,443	51.5	8	3.3	393,230	8.5
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						64,709	12.7	26	510,977
				5	7.7	192,765	16.8	65	1,146,746
				1	1.2	223,390	14.0	82	1,594,247
17	30.9	173,132	35.9			46,591	9.7	55	865,075
		1,796	0.3	2	12.5	27,209	4.1	16	288,783
								1	1,251
17	6.9	174,928	4.0	8	3.3	554,664	12.6	245	4,406,809
									45,821
									4,452,630

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						11,896	2.3	26	517,137
		10,781	0.9	3	4.6	179,337	15.3	65	1,171,497
		786	0.1			41,492	2.6	82	1,609,414
10	18.2	111,201	11.6	2	3.6	60,440	6.3	55	957,360
		506	0.1	1	6.3	12,918	3.6	16	363,144
								1	1,708
10	4.1	123,274	2.7	6	2.4	306,083	6.6	245	4,620,260
									52,271
									4,672,531

Table 3-3 1945—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	6	23.1	221,464	38.5	19	73.1	273,546	47.5	1	3.8	69,576	12.1
Quebec	2	3.1	118,933	8.4	53	81.5	717,776	50.8			33,450	2.1
Ontario	48	58.5	756,762	41.7	34	41.5	745,571	41.1			260,502	14.2
Prairie Provinces	5	9.1	209,210	20.7	14	25.5	302,869	30.0	23	41.8	326,202	32.1
British Columbia	5	31.3	128,529	30.0	5	31.3	117,737	27.5	4	25.0	125,945	29.1
Northern Territories	1	100.0	849	40.0							584	27.1
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	67	27.3	1,435,747	27.4	125	51.0	2,157,499	41.1	28	11.4	816,259	15.1
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 3-4 1949—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	7	20.6	276,606	37.7	26	76.5	406,764	55.4	1	2.9	44,606	6.1
Quebec	2	2.7	392,530	24.6	68	93.2	961,974	60.4			17,767	1.1
Ontario	25	30.1	757,210	37.4	56	67.5	924,231	45.7	1	1.2	306,551	15.1
Prairie Provinces	4	7.5	181,260	17.6	31	58.5	432,391	41.9	8	11.0	266,904	25.1
British Columbia	3	16.7	128,620	27.9	11	61.1	169,018	36.7	3	16.7	145,442	31.1
Northern Territories					1	100.0	3,284	49.0			1,140	17.1
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	41	15.6	1,736,226	29.7	193	73.7	2,897,662	49.5	13	5.0	782,410	13.1
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		2,300	0.4			9,073	1.6	26	575,959
		63,310	4.5	10	15.4	480,700	34.0	65	1,414,169
		3,906	0.1			48,226	2.7	82	1,814,967
13	23.6	135,592	13.4			36,601	3.6	55	1,010,474
		9,890	2.3	2	12.5	46,340	10.8	16	428,441
						687	32.4	1	2,120
13	5.3	214,998	4.1	12	4.9	621,627	11.8	245	5,246,130
									59,063
									5,305,193

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						5,789	0.8	34	733,765
		80,990	5.1	3	4.1	140,039	8.8	73	1,593,300
		3,225	0.1	1	1.2	30,957	1.5	83	2,022,174
10	18.9	129,883	12.6			21,519	2.1	53	1,031,957
		2,109	0.5	1	5.6	15,879	3.4	18	461,068
						2,283	34.0	1	6,707
10	3.8	216,207	3.7	5	1.9	216,466	3.7	262	5,848,971
									54,601
									5,903,572

Table 3-5 1953—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	5	15.2	289,844	39.5	27	81.8	402,404	54.9	1	3.0	30,385	4.1
Quebec	4	5.3	454,052	29.4	66	88.0	944,071	61.0			23,833	1.5
Ontario	33	38.8	772,691	40.3	51	60.0	898,476	46.9	1	1.2	212,224	11.1
Prairie Provinces	6	12.5	164,632	17.0	17	35.4	362,209	37.5	14	29.2	244,381	25.3
British Columbia	3	13.6	66,426	14.1	8	36.4	145,570	30.9	7	31.8	125,487	26.6
Northern Territories			1,934	26.7	2	100.0	3,898	53.8				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	51	19.2	1,749,579	31.0	171	64.5	2,756,628	48.9	23	8.7	636,310	11.3
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 3-6 1957—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	21	63.6	381,496	48.6	12	36.4	377,564	48.1			20,119	2.6
Quebec	9	12.0	557,356	31.1	62	82.7	1,030,354	57.6			31,780	1.8
Ontario	61	71.8	1,104,024	48.8	21	24.7	839,894	37.1	3	3.5	274,069	12.1
Prairie Provinces	14	29.2	333,451	28.6	6	12.5	328,352	28.2	15	68.2	249,818	21.4
British Columbia	7	31.8	192,988	32.6	2	9.1	121,301	20.5	7	31.8	131,873	22.3
Northern Territories			3,611	41.4	2	100.0	5,108	58.6				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	112	42.3	2,572,926	38.9	105	39.6	2,702,573	40.9	25	9.4	707,659	10.7
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		931	0.1			9,570	1.3	33	733,134
				5	6.7	124,817	8.1	75	1,546,773
		5,427	0.1			26,602	1.4	85	1,915,420
11	22.9	174,917	18.1			21,032	2.2	48	967,171
4	18.2	123,278	26.1			10,762	2.3	22	471,523
		998	13.8			421	5.8	2	7,251
15	5.7	305,551	5.4	5	1.9	193,204	3.4	265	5,641,272
									60,691
									5,701,963

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		2,893	0.4			3,159	0.4	33	785,231
		3,877	0.2	4	5.3	166,693	9.3	75	1,790,060
		38,418	1.7			8,166	0.4	85	2,264,571
13	27.1	248,330	21.3			5,909	0.5	48	1,165,860
6	27.3	143,145	24.2			2,232	0.4	22	591,539
								2	8,719
19	7.2	436,663	6.6	4	1.5	186,159	2.8	265	6,605,980
									74,710
									6,680,690

Table 3-7 1958—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	25	75.8	486,550	54.5	8	24.2	380,130	42.6			23,907	2.7
Quebec	50	66.7	1,003,276	49.6	25	33.3	924,090	45.7			45,594	2.3
Ontario	67	78.8	1,413,730	56.4	15	17.6	815,524	32.6	3	3.5	262,120	10.5
Prairie Provinces	47	97.9	691,079	56.2			222,154	18.1	1	2.1	207,372	16.9
British Columbia	18	81.8	308,971	49.4			100,889	16.1	4	18.2	153,405	24.5
Northern Territories	1	50.0	5,027	48.9	1	50.0	5,122	49.9				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	208	78.5	3,908,633	53.6	49	18.5	2,447,909	33.6	8	3.0	692,398	9.5
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 3-8 1962—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	18	54.5	407,659	45.4	14	42.4	411,869	45.9	1	3.0	64,301	7.2
Quebec	14	18.7	617,762	29.6	35	46.7	818,760	39.2			91,795	4.4
Ontario	35	41.2	1,056,095	39.3	44	51.8	1,122,222	41.8	6	7.1	456,459	17.0
Prairie Provinces	42	87.5	589,908	44.9	1	4.5	312,453	23.8	3	13.6	214,849	16.3
British Columbia	6	27.3	187,389	27.3	4	18.2	187,438	27.3	10	45.5	212,035	30.9
Northern Territories	1	50.0	6,769	47.6	1	50.0	6,506	45.7				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	116	43.8	2,865,582	37.3	99	37.4	2,859,248	37.2	20	7.5	1,039,439	13.5
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		1,711	0.2			263	0.0	33	892,561
		12,858	0.6			38,431	1.9	75	2,024,249
		8,386	0.3			4,753	0.2	85	2,504,513
		105,639	8.6			3,917	0.3	48	1,230,161
		59,762	9.6			2,515	0.4	22	625,542
						122	1.2	2	10,271
		188,356	2.6			50,001	0.7	265	7,287,297
									69,842
									7,357,139

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		13,091	1.5			441	0.0	33	897,361
26	34.7	542,433	26.0			19,173	0.9	75	2,089,923
		49,734	1.9			3,135	0.1	85	2,687,645
2	4.2	192,972	14.7			4,611	0.4	48	1,314,793
2	9.1	97,396	14.2			1,931	0.3	22	686,189
		948	6.7					2	14,223
30	11.3	896,574	11.7			29,291	0.4	265	7,690,134
									82,522
									7,772,656

Table 3-9 1963—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	13	39.4	375,629	42.6	20	60.6	439,692	49.9			43,020	4
Quebec	8	10.7	413,562	19.5	47	62.7	966,172	45.6			151,061	1
Ontario	27	31.8	979,359	35.3	52	61.2	1,286,791	46.3	6	7.1	442,340	15
Prairie Provinces	41	85.4	642,780	47.0	3	6.3	357,125	26.1	2	4.2	178,553	13
British Columbia	4	18.2	172,501	23.4	7	31.8	237,896	32.3	9	40.9	222,883	30
Northern Territories	2	100.0	7,783	53.8			6,114	42.3				
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	95	35.8	2,591,614	32.8	129	48.7	3,293,790	41.7	17	6.4	1,037,857	13
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 3-10 1965—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	18	54.5	392,041	44.6	15	45.5	416,019	47.4			64,007	1
Quebec	8	10.7	432,901	21.2	57	76.0	928,530	45.6			244,339	12
Ontario	25	29.4	933,753	34.0	51	60.0	1,196,308	43.6	9	10.6	594,112	21
Prairie Provinces	42	87.5	595,241	45.3	1	2.1	333,196	25.4	3	6.3	239,637	18
British Columbia	3	13.6	139,226	19.2	7	31.8	217,726	30.0	9	40.9	239,132	30
Northern Territories	1	50.0	6,751	45.2	1	50.0	7,740	51.9			431	1
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	97	36.6	2,499,913	32.4	132	49.8	3,099,519	40.2	21	7.9	1,381,658	13
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and Others.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		21,451	2.4			1,943	0.2	33	881,735
20	26.7	578,347	27.3			8,903	0.4	75	2,118,045
		56,276	2.0			11,896	0.4	85	2,776,662
2	4.2	186,223	13.6			2,524	0.2	48	1,367,205
2	9.1	97,846	13.3			4,846	0.7	22	735,972
		560	3.9					2	14,457
24	9.1	940,703	11.9			30,112	0.4	265	7,894,076
									64,560
									7,958,636

Soc. Cred./Ral. Cred.				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		3,785	0.4			2,271	0.3	33	878,123
9	12.0	357,153	17.5	1	1.3	74,389	3.7	75	2,037,312
		10,995	0.4			8,615	0.3	85	2,743,783
2	4.2	143,427	10.9			1,691	0.1	48	1,313,192
3	13.6	126,532	17.4			3,368	0.5	22	725,984
								2	14,922
14	5.3	641,892	8.3	1		90,334	1.2	265	7,713,316
									83,412
									7,796,728

Table 3-11 1968—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	25	78.1	422,054	52.8	7	21.9	331,208	41.4			43,631	5.3
Quebec	4	5.0	466,492	21.4	56	70.0	1,170,417	53.6	6	7.1	164,466	7.7
Ontario	17	20.0	942,979	32.0	64	75.3	1,372,903	46.6	3	6.1	607,011	20.1
Prairie Provinces	25	51.0	562,933	40.8	11	22.4	479,402	34.8	13	81.3	300,635	21.9
British Columbia			155,101	19.4	16	100.0	333,949	41.8			260,989	32.2
Northern Territories	1	50.0	5,321	33.4	1	50.0	9,066	57.0			1,528	9.9
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	72	27.3	2,554,880	31.4	155	58.7	3,696,945	45.5	22	8.3	1,378,260	17.3
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents and others.

Table 3-12 1972—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	22	68.8	451,191	49.7	10	31.3	357,128	39.4			76,169	8.3
Quebec	2	2.7	457,418	17.4	56	75.7	1,289,139	49.1			168,910	6.3
Ontario	40	45.5	1,399,148	39.1	36	40.9	1,366,922	38.2	11	12.5	768,076	21.2
Prairie Provinces	34	75.6	753,849	47.5	3	6.7	423,847	26.7	8	17.8	361,480	22.1
British Columbia	8	34.8	313,253	33.0	4	17.4	274,468	28.9	11	47.8	332,345	35.1
Northern Territories	1	50.0	8,671	39.0			6,754	30.4	1	50.0	6,548	29.7
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	107	40.5	3,383,530	35.0	109	41.3	3,718,258	38.5	31	11.7	1,713,528	17.7
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Ral. Cred.				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		1,769	0.2			1,240	0.2	32	799,902
14	17.5	358,327	16.4			24,590	1.1	80	2,184,292
				1	1.2	25,599	0.9	85	2,948,492
		949	0.1			34,734	2.5	49	1,378,653
						48,703	6.1	16	798,742
								2	15,915
14	5.3	361,045	4.4	1	0.4	134,866	1.7	264	8,125,996
									91,920
									8,217,916

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		18,087	2.0			4,702	0.5	32	907,277
15	20.3	639,207	24.4	1	1.4	70,362	2.7	74	2,625,036
		12,937	0.4	1	1.1	30,969	0.9	88	3,578,052
		42,634	2.7			4,800	0.3	45	1,586,610
		25,107	2.6			3,116	0.3	23	948,289
						252	1.1	2	22,225
15	5.7	737,972	7.6	2	0.8	114,201	1.2	264	9,667,489
									307,172
									9,974,661

Table 3-13 1974—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	17	53.1	383,225	42.3	13	40.6	401,536	44.3	1	3.1	87,450	9.6
Quebec	3	4.1	520,632	21.2	60	81.1	1,330,337	54.1			162,080	6.6
Ontario	25	28.4	1,252,082	35.1	55	62.5	1,609,786	45.1	8	9.1	680,113	19.3
Prairie Provinces	36	80.0	781,258	50.6	5	21.7	418,725	27.1	4	17.4	298,530	19.3
British Columbia	13	56.5	423,954	41.9	8	34.8	336,435	33.3	2	8.7	232,547	23.3
Northern Territories	1	50.0	8,184	38.7			5,957	28.1	1	50.0	7,028	33.3
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	95	36.0	3,369,335	35.4	141	53.4	4,102,776	43.2	16	6.1	1,467,748	15.3
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 3-14 1979—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	18	56.3	422,137	41.0	12	37.5	409,804	39.8	2	6.3	195,404	19.3
Quebec	2	2.7	432,199	13.5	67	89.3	1,975,526	61.7			163,492	5.1
Ontario	57	60.0	1,732,717	41.8	32	33.7	1,509,926	36.4	6	6.3	873,182	21.3
Prairie Provinces	38	77.6	984,178	53.0	2	4.1	415,338	22.4	9	18.4	427,097	23.3
British Columbia ¹	19	67.9	530,380	44.3	1	3.6	274,946	23.0	8	28.6	381,678	31.3
Northern Territories	2	66.7	9,948	36.9			8,779	32.6	1	33.3	7,926	29.3
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	136	48.2	4,111,559	35.9	114	40.4	4,594,319	40.1	26	9.2	2,048,779	17.3
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Table 5 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* shows a total of 298 more votes for the Progressive Conservatives. However, the total vote is in agreement with that reported.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes			
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Seats	Votes
		10,007	1.1	1	3.1	24,194	2.7	32	906,412
11	14.9	420,018	17.1			25,608	1.0	74	2,458,675
		6,575	0.2			16,981	0.5	88	3,565,537
		32,198	2.1			12,523	0.8	45	1,543,234
		12,433	1.2			5,512	0.5	23	1,010,881
								2	21,169
11	4.2	481,231	5.1	1	0.4	84,818	0.9	264	9,505,908
									165,094
									9,671,002

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes			
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Seats	Votes
						2,141	0.2	32	1,029,486
6	8.0	512,995	16.0			119,817	3.7	75	3,204,029
		1,002	0.1			26,168	0.6	95	4,142,995
		11,722	0.6			18,019	1.0	49	1,856,354
		1,885	0.2			7,023	0.6	28	1,195,912
						273	1.0	3	26,926
6	2.1	527,604	4.6			173,441	1.5	282	11,455,702
									85,298
									11,541,000

Table 3–15 1980—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	13	40.6	376,167	36.6	19	59.4	462,979	45.1			180,851	17.3
Quebec	1	1.3	373,317	12.6	74	98.7	2,017,156	68.2			268,409	9.1
Ontario	38	40.0	1,420,436	35.5	52	54.7	1,675,519	41.9	5	5.3	874,229	21.3
Prairie Provinces	33	67.3	873,062	50.6	2	4.1	420,371	24.3	14	28.6	406,497	23.1
British Columbia	16	57.1	502,088	41.5			268,262	22.2	12	42.9	426,858	35.1
Northern Territories	2	66.7	7,924	30.6			9,627	37.2	1	33.3	8,143	31.1
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	103	36.5	3,552,994	32.5	147	52.1	4,853,914	44.3	32	11.3	2,164,987	19.1
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹ Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 3–16 1984—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	25	78.1	612,884	53.2	7	21.9	393,133	34.1			142,252	12.3
Quebec	58	77.3	1,728,196	50.2	17	22.7	1,219,124	35.4			301,928	8.5
Ontario	67	70.5	2,113,187	47.6	14	14.7	1,323,835	29.8	13	13.7	921,504	20.7
Prairie Provinces	39	79.6	1,141,291	55.5	1	2.0	337,211	16.4	9	18.4	484,505	23.1
British Columbia	19	67.9	668,432	46.6	1	3.6	235,394	16.4	8	28.6	502,331	35.1
Northern Territories	3	100.0	14,707	47.1			7,789	25.0			7,395	23.1
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	211	74.8	6,278,697	50.0	40	14.2	3,516,486	28.0	30	10.6	2,359,915	18.1
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹ Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						7,225	0.7	32	1,027,222
		174,583	5.9			123,577	4.2	75	2,957,042
		804	0.1			29,853	0.7	95	4,000,841
		8,336	0.5			18,857	1.1	49	1,727,123
		1,763	0.1			10,841	0.9	28	1,209,812
						180	0.7	3	25,874
		185,486	1.7			190,533	1.7	282	10,947,914
									67,600
									11,015,514

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		102	0.1			4,144	0.4	32	1,152,515
		6,633	0.2			184,479	5.4	75	3,440,360
		865	0.1	1	1.1	76,020	1.7	95	4,435,411
		5,965	0.3			87,201	4.2	49	2,056,173
		3,094	0.2			23,797	1.7	28	1,433,048
						1,323	4.2	3	31,214
		16,659	0.1	1	0.4	376,964	3.0	282	12,548,721
									89,703
									12,638,424

Table 3-17 1988—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, by Region and Party

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Maritime Provinces	12	37.5	491,280	41.1	20	62.5	550,586	46.0			127,741	10.7
Quebec	63	84.0	1,841,311	52.7	12	16.0	1,057,876	30.3			487,971	14.0
Ontario	46	46.5	1,788,118	38.2	43	43.4	1,819,087	38.9	10	10.1	940,121	20.1
Prairie Provinces	36	66.7	991,263	44.5	5	9.3	451,540	20.3	13	24.1	548,416	24.6
British Columbia	12	37.5	527,767	34.4	1	3.1	326,801	21.3	19	59.4	567,732	37.0
Northern Territories			10,109	29.7	2	66.7	10,221	30.1	1	33.3	12,587	37.0
Totals and %												
Seats/Valid Votes	169	57.3	5,649,848	42.9	83	28.1	4,216,111	32.0	43	14.6	2,684,568	20.4
Rejected												
Total Votes Cast												

¹Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 3-18 Maritime Provinces—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935-1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	1	3.8	167,640	32.8	25	96.2	278,628	54.5			18,408	3.6
1940	6	23.1	215,204	41.6	19	73.1	271,561	52.5	1	3.8	18,476	3.6
1945	6	23.1	221,464	38.5	19	73.1	273,546	47.5	1	3.8	69,576	12.1
1949	7	20.6	276,606	37.7	26	76.5	406,764	55.4	1	2.9	44,606	6.1
1953	5	15.2	289,844	39.5	27	81.8	402,404	54.9	1	3.0	30,385	4.1
1957	21	63.6	381,496	48.6	12	36.4	377,564	48.1			20,119	2.6
1958	25	75.8	486,550	54.5	8	24.2	380,130	42.6			23,907	2.7
1962	18	54.5	407,659	45.4	14	42.4	411,869	45.9	1	3.0	64,301	7.2
1963	13	39.4	375,629	42.6	20	60.6	439,692	49.9			43,020	4.9
1965	18	54.5	392,041	44.6	15	45.5	416,019	47.4			64,007	7.3
1968	25	78.1	422,054	52.8	7	21.9	331,208	41.4			43,631	5.5
1972	22	68.8	451,191	49.7	10	31.3	357,128	39.4			76,169	8.4
1974	17	54.8	383,225	41.2	13	41.9	401,536	43.2			87,450	9.4
1979	18	56.3	422,137	41.0	12	37.5	409,804	39.8	2	6.3	195,404	19.0
1980	13	39.4	376,167	36.6	19	57.6	462,979	45.1	1	3.0	180,851	17.6
1984	25	78.1	612,884	53.2	7	21.9	393,133	34.1			142,252	12.3
1988	12	37.5	491,280	41.1	20	62.5	550,586	46.0			127,741	10.7
Total and Means	252	47.2		43.6	273	51.1		46.3	8	1.5		8.1

¹CCF through 1958.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						26,402	2.2	32	1,196,009
		2,070	0.1			107,183	3.1	75	3,496,411
		168	0.1			133,605	2.9	99	4,681,099
						234,583	10.5	54	2,225,802
		1,169	0.1			111,548	7.3	32	1,535,017
						1,088	3.2	3	34,005
		3,407	0.0			614,409	4.7	295	13,168,343
									105,339
									13,258,046

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						46,301	9.1	26	510,977
						11,896	2.3	26	517,137
		2,300	0.4			9,073	1.6	26	575,959
						5,789	0.8	34	733,765
		931	0.1			9,570	1.3	33	733,134
		2,893	0.4			3,159	0.4	33	785,231
		1,711	0.2			263	0.0	33	892,561
		13,091	1.5			441	0.0	33	897,361
		21,451	2.4			1,943	0.2	33	881,735
		3,785	0.4			2,271	0.3	33	878,123
		1,769	0.2			1,240	0.2	32	799,902
		18,087	2.0			4,702	0.5	32	907,277
		10,007	1.1	1	3.2	48,152	5.2	31	930,370
						2,141	0.2	32	1,029,486
						7,225	0.7	33	1,027,222
		102	0			4,144	0.4	32	1,152,515
						26,402	2.2	32	1,196,009
			0.5	1	0.2		1.5	534	

Table 3-19 Maritime Provinces—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, 1935-1988, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935	26	25	1		19	26	6	19		11								25				87	19
1940	26	26	1	5		26	19		6	7	1							2				61	6
1945	26	25	4	1	2	26	18	2	1	24	1			1				6				82	3
1949	34	34		4		34		7		18												86	11
1953	33	33			6	33	20	6		14								3				83	6
1957	33	32		16		33	12		15	12												77	16
1958	33	33	21			33	8			9								1				76	
1962	33	33	18		7	33	8	6		27				17								110	6
1963	33	33			6	33	14	6		23								1				90	6
1965	33	33				33	15			25				5				4				100	
1968 ¹	32	32		7		32	5		7	32				5								101	7
1972	32	32	22		3	32	7	3		32				15				2				113	3
1974	32	32	17		5	32	10	3		32	1		14					8				118	4
1979	32	32	15		2	32	11			32	1											96	1
1980	32	32	13			32	13	6		32		2						23				119	6
1984	32	32	13	12		32	7		12	32								12				108	12
1988 ²	32	32	11		10	32	3	10		32								32				128	10
Totals	534	531	136	45	60	534	176	68	41	394	1	3	2	57				119				1,635	116

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 28 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

²Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 25 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Table 3-21 Quebec—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935-1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	5	7.7	322,794	28.2	55	84.6	623,591	54.4			7,326	0.6
1940	1	1.5	231,824	19.8	61	93.8	741,945	63.3			7,610	0.6
1945	2	3.1	118,933	8.4	53	81.5	717,776	50.8			33,450	2.4
1949	2	2.7	392,530	24.6	68	93.2	961,974	60.4			17,767	1.1
1953	4	5.3	454,052	29.4	66	88.0	944,071	61.0			23,833	1.5
1957	9	12.0	557,356	31.1	62	82.7	1,030,354	57.6			31,780	1.8
1958	50	66.7	1,003,276	49.6	25	33.3	924,090	45.7			45,594	2.3
1962	14	18.7	617,762	29.6	35	46.7	818,760	39.2			91,795	4.4
1963	8	10.7	413,562	19.5	47	62.7	966,172	45.6			151,061	7.1
1965	8	10.7	432,901	21.2	56	74.7	928,530	45.6			244,339	12.0
1968	4	5.4	466,492	21.4	56	75.7	1,170,417	53.6			164,466	7.5
1972	2	2.7	457,418	17.4	56	75.7	1,289,139	49.1			168,910	6.4
1974	3	4.1	520,632	21.2	60	81.1	1,330,337	54.1			162,080	6.6
1979	2	2.7	432,199	13.5	67	89.3	1,975,526	61.7			163,492	5.1
1980	1	1.3	373,317	12.6	74	98.7	2,017,156	68.2			268,409	9.1
1984	58	77.3	1,728,196	50.2	17	22.7	1,219,124	35.4			301,928	8.8
1988	63	84.0	1,841,311	52.7	12	16.0	1,057,876	30.3			487,971	14.0
Totals and Means	236	19.0		26.5	870	70.2		51.5				5.4

¹CCF through 1958. ²Includes Ralliement Creditiste, for 1965 and 1968. ³Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 3-20 Maritime Provinces—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins, 1935-1988

Year	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
1935	19.2	3.8	19.2	7.7	11.5	38.5	26
1940	23.1	26.9	11.5	3.8	23.1	11.5	26
1945	38.5	11.5	19.2	11.5	3.8	15.4	26
1949	29.4	20.6	5.9	2.9	11.8	29.4	34
1953	24.2	18.2	15.2	6.1	9.1	27.3	33
1957	27.3	30.3	15.2	9.1	3.0	15.2	33
1958	12.1	15.2	18.2	12.1	24.2	18.2	33
1962	30.3	30.3	15.2	9.1	3.0	12.1	33
1963	24.2	30.3	15.2	3.0	6.1	21.2	33
1965	21.2	12.1	27.3	18.2	0.0	21.2	33
1968	18.8	12.5	25.0	18.8	9.4	15.6	32
1972	3.1	15.6	9.4	21.9	18.8	31.3	32
1974	6.3	21.9	25.0	15.6	12.5	18.8	32
1979	15.6	6.3	21.9	6.3	15.6	34.4	32
1980	21.9	6.3	31.3	6.3	6.3	28.1	32
1984	12.5	15.6	18.8	6.3	3.1	43.8	32
1988	28.1	31.3	15.6	3.1	6.3	15.6	32
Totals	111	97	97	51	52	125	534
Means	20.9	18.2	18.2	9.5	9.9	23.4	

Social Credit ²				Other ³				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
				5	7.7	192,765	16.8	65	1,146,476
		10,781	0.9	3	4.6	179,337	15.3	65	1,171,497
		63,310	4.5	10	15.4	480,700	34.0	65	1,414,169
		80,990	5.1	3	4.1	140,039	8.8	73	1,593,300
				5	6.7	124,817	8.1	75	1,546,773
		3,877	0.2	4	5.3	166,693	9.3	75	1,790,060
		12,858	0.6			38,431	1.9	75	2,024,249
26	34.7	542,433	26.0			19,173	0.9	75	2,089,923
20	26.7	578,347	27.3			8,903	0.4	75	2,118,045
9	12.0	357,153	17.5	2	2.7	74,389	3.7	75	2,037,312
14	18.9	358,327	16.4			24,590	1.1	74	2,184,292
15	20.3	639,207	24.4	1	1.4	70,362	2.7	74	2,625,036
11	14.9	420,018	17.1			25,608	1.0	74	2,458,675
6	8.0	512,995	16.0			119,817	3.7	75	3,204,029
		174,583	5.9			123,577	4.2	75	2,957,042
		6,633	0.2			184,479	5.4	75	3,440,360
		2,070	0.1			107,183	3.1	75	3,496,411
101	8.2		9.5	33	2.7		7.1	1,240	

Table 3-22 Quebec—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit ⁷				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Chang- ing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	65	62	4		20	64	35	17		3								84	4	1		213	21
1940	65	53		1	5	65	51	10	4	4				2				46	3	5		170	14
1945	65	29		2	1	64	47	3	13	29				43				118	2	11	2	283	16
1949 ²	73	69		2	2	73	48	12	2	20				50				41	1	1	11	253	15
1953 ³	75	71	1	3	1	75	59	1	5	29								53	3	2		228	6
1957	75	69	2	7	2	75	57	5	9	22				4				43	1	3	4	213	15
1958	75	75	9	41		75	22	3	40	29				15				25			4	219	44
1962	75	75	14		36	75	16	19	9	40				75	26			81				346	45
1963	75	75	8		6	75	33	14	2	60				75	17	3	9	10				295	17
1965	75	75	4	4	4	75	45	11	2	71				75	9		11	27		2		323	17
1968 ⁴	74	74	3	1	1	74	31	5	7	70				70	5	6	2	28			2	316	12
1972	74	74	2		2	74	55	1	1	62				70	13	2	1	34		1		314	4
1974	74	74	2	1		74	56	4		72				68	11		4	76			1	364	5
1979 ⁵	75	75	2		1	75	51	6	1	75				74	5	1	5	212				511	7
1980	75	75	1		1	75	67	7		73				55			6	207				485	7
1984	75	75	1	57		75	17		57	75				23				203				451	57
1988 ⁶	75	75	51	5		75	5		5	75				6				149				380	5
Totals	1,240	1,175	104	124	82	1,238	695	118	157	809				705	60	38	38	1,437	7	27	30	5,364	307

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 60 seats which are comparable to the previous election; ²64 seats; ³69 seats; ⁴51 seats; ⁵65 seats; ⁶61 seats.

⁷Includes, for 1965 and 1968, Ralliement Creditiste.

Table 3-24 Ontario—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	25	30.5	562,513	35.3	56	68.3	680,417	42.7			127,927	8.0
1940	25	30.5	687,816	42.7	57	69.5	818,154	50.8			61,166	3.8
1945	48	58.5	756,762	41.7	34	41.5	745,571	41.1			260,502	14.4
1949	25	30.1	757,210	37.4	56	67.5	924,231	45.7	1	1.2	306,551	15.2
1953	33	38.8	772,691	40.3	51	60.0	898,476	46.9	1	1.2	212,224	11.1
1957	61	71.8	1,104,024	48.8	21	24.7	839,894	37.1	3	3.5	274,069	12.1
1958	67	78.8	1,413,730	56.4	15	17.6	815,524	32.6	3	3.5	262,120	10.5
1962	35	41.2	1,056,095	39.3	44	51.8	1,122,222	41.8	6	7.1	456,459	17.0
1963	27	31.8	979,359	35.3	52	61.2	1,286,791	46.3	6	7.1	442,340	15.9
1965	25	29.4	933,753	34.0	51	60.0	1,196,308	43.6	9	10.6	594,112	21.7
1968	17	19.3	942,979	32.0	64	72.7	1,372,903	46.6	6	6.8	607,011	20.6
1972	40	45.5	1,399,148	39.1	36	40.9	1,366,922	38.2	11	12.5	768,076	21.5
1974	25	28.4	1,252,082	35.1	55	62.5	1,609,786	45.1	8	9.1	680,113	19.1
1979	57	60.0	1,732,717	41.8	32	33.7	1,509,926	36.4	6	6.3	873,182	21.1
1980	38	40.0	1,420,436	35.5	52	54.7	1,675,519	41.9	5	5.3	874,229	21.9
1984	67	70.5	2,113,187	47.6	14	14.7	1,323,835	29.8	13	13.7	921,504	20.8
1988	46	46.5	1,788,118	38.2	43	42.4	1,819,087	38.9	10	10.1	940,121	20.1
Totals and Means	661	44.4		40.0	733	49.3		41.5	88	5.9		16.1

¹CCF through 1958. ²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 3-23 Quebec—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
1935	13.9	13.9	12.3	10.8	6.2	43.1	65
1940	4.6	12.3	3.1	9.2	10.8	60.0	65
1945	12.3	10.8	13.9	13.9	7.7	41.5	65
1949	15.1	4.1	5.5	13.7	5.5	56.2	73
1953	9.3	10.7	6.7	10.7	6.7	56.0	75
1957	22.7	10.7	10.7	9.3	6.7	40.0	75
1958	29.3	30.7	14.7	16.0	9.3		75
1962	17.3	18.7	17.3	17.3	13.3	16.0	75
1963	21.3	18.7	9.3	13.3	5.3	32.0	75
1965	13.3	14.7	14.7	8.0	10.7	38.7	75
1968	12.2	21.6	12.2	4.1	6.8	43.2	74
1972	13.5	9.5	5.4	9.5	17.6	44.6	74
1974	6.8	10.8	6.8	8.1	10.8	56.8	74
1979	6.7	4.0	6.7		2.7	80.0	75
1980	1.3	4.0	4.0	2.7		88.0	75
1984	17.3	17.3	14.7	10.7	13.3	26.7	75
1988	12.0	8.0	13.3	6.7	6.7	52.0	75
Totals	168	161	121	124	102	564	1,240
Means	13.5	13.0	9.8	10.0	8.1	45.4	

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
				1	1.2	223,390	14.0	82	1,594,247
		786	0.1			41,492	2.6	82	1,609,414
		3,906	0.2			48,226	2.7	82	1,814,967
		3,225	0.2	1	1.2	30,957	1.5	83	2,022,174
		5,427	0.3			26,602	1.4	85	1,915,420
		38,418	1.7			8,166	0.4	85	2,264,571
		8,386	0.3			4,753	0.2	85	2,504,513
		49,734	1.9			3,135	0.1	85	2,687,645
		56,276	2.0			11,896	0.4	85	2,776,662
		10,995	0.4			8,615	0.3	85	2,743,783
				1	1.1	25,599	0.9	88	2,948,492
		12,937	0.4	1	1.1	30,969	0.9	88	3,578,052
		6,575	0.2			16,981	0.5	88	3,565,537
		1,002	0.0			26,168	0.6	95	4,142,995
		804	0.0			29,853	0.7	95	4,000,841
		865	0.0	1	1.1	76,020	1.7	95	4,435,411
		168	0.0			133,605	2.9	99	4,681,099
		0.4		5	0.3		1.9	1,487	

Table 3–25 Ontario—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, 1935–1988, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Chang- ing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	82	80	21	1	33	81	23	33		50								97	1	1		308	34
1940	82	82	18	7	7	82	49	8	7	24				1				13		1		202	15
1945	82	82	25	23		82	34		23	80				8				33				285	23
1949 ²	83	83	26		22	83	32	21	1	76		1		5				19		1		266	23
1953 ³	85	85	19	11	2	84	44	2	11	65	1			9				35				278	13
1957	85	85	32	29		85	21		31	60		3	1	40				6				276	32
1958	85	85	61	6		85	15		6	63	3			18				10				261	6
1962	85	85	34		33	85	15	30		81	3	3		70				7				328	33
1963	85	85	25	2	9	85	43	9	2	80	5	1	1	67				13				330	12
1965	85	85	22	2	5	85	47	5	5	84	5	4	1	19				17				290	11
1968 ⁴	88	88	10	2	3	88	31	6	3	88	3		3	3				20		1		287	9
1972	88	88	17	23		88	36		28	88	6	5		25				13	1			302	28
1974	88	88	25		15	88	36	19		88	8		3	19				96			1	379	19
1979 ⁵	95	95	16	25		95	28		23	95	6		1	5				116				406	25
1980	95	95	38		19	95	32	20		95	3	2	3	5				170				460	22
1984	95	95	37	30	1	95	14		38	95	5	8		6				131		1		422	39
1988 ⁶	99	99	30		17	98	11	23		99	5	2	5	1				207			1	496	25
Totals	1,487	1,481	456	161	166	1,484	511	176	178	1,311	53	29	18	301				1,003	2	3	4	5,576	339

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 79 seats which are comparable to the previous election; ²81 seats; ³77 seats; ⁴53 seats; ⁵81 seats; ⁶71 seats.

Table 3–27 Prairie Provinces—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	3	5.5	180,888	20.9	31	56.4	305,547	35.3	4	7.3	158,917	18.4
1940	3	5.5	169,852	17.7	34	61.8	413,070	43.1	6	10.9	202,797	21.2
1945	5	9.1	209,210	20.7	14	25.5	302,869	30.0	23	41.8	326,202	32.3
1949	4	7.5	181,260	17.6	31	58.5	432,391	41.9	8	15.1	266,904	25.9
1953	6	12.5	164,632	17.0	17	35.4	362,209	37.5	14	29.2	244,381	25.3
1957	14	29.2	333,451	28.6	6	12.5	328,352	28.2	15	31.3	249,818	21.4
1958	47	97.9	691,079	56.2			222,154	18.1	1	2.1	207,372	16.9
1962	42	87.5	589,908	44.9	1	2.1	312,453	23.8	3	6.3	214,849	16.3
1963	41	85.4	642,780	47.0	3	6.3	357,125	26.1	2	4.2	178,553	13.1
1965	42	87.5	595,241	45.3	1	2.1	333,196	25.4	3	6.3	239,637	18.2
1968	25	55.6	562,933	40.8	11	24.4	479,402	34.8	9	20.0	300,635	21.8
1972	34	75.6	753,849	47.5	3	6.7	423,847	26.7	8	17.8	361,480	22.8
1974	36	80.0	781,258	50.6	5	11.1	418,725	27.1	4	8.9	298,530	19.3
1979	38	77.6	984,178	53.0	2	4.1	415,338	22.4	9	18.4	427,097	23.0
1980	33	67.3	873,062	50.6	2	4.1	420,371	24.3	14	28.6	406,497	23.5
1984	39	79.6	1,141,291	55.5	1	2.0	337,211	16.4	9	18.4	484,505	23.6
1988	36	66.7	991,263	44.5	5	9.3	451,540	20.3	13	24.1	548,416	24.6
Totals and Means	448	56.9		38.7	167	21.2		28.3	145	18.4		21.6

¹CCF through 1958. ²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 3–26 Ontario—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins, 1935–1988

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935	23.2	24.4	18.3	11.0	12.2	11.0	82
1940	19.5	22.0	25.6	9.8	11.0	12.2	82
1945	22.0	29.6	13.4	11.0	8.5	15.9	82
1949	28.9	21.7	24.0	3.6	7.2	14.5	83
1953	22.4	20.0	20.0	14.1	3.5	20.0	85
1957	9.4	21.2	11.8	11.8	17.7	28.2	85
1958	12.9	8.2	5.9	7.1	5.9	60.0	85
1962	29.4	18.8	20.0	11.8	5.9	14.1	85
1963	28.2	16.5	9.4	18.8	9.4	17.7	85
1965	23.5	17.7	15.3	12.9	14.1	16.5	85
1968	20.5	29.6	13.6	12.5	11.4	12.5	88
1972	30.7	17.1	14.8	18.2	10.2	9.1	88
1974	12.5	28.4	18.2	9.1	15.9	15.9	88
1979	25.3	15.8	21.1	11.6	6.3	20.0	95
1980	30.5	20.0	19.0	15.8	7.4	7.4	95
1984	14.7	14.7	13.1	6.3	9.5	41.1	95
1988	43.4	17.2	14.1	9.1	6.1	10.1	99
Totals	350	298	243	170	141	285	1,487
Means	23.5	20.0	16.3	11.4	9.5	19.2	

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
17	30.9	178,883	20.7			40,840	4.7	55	865,075
10	18.2	111,201	11.6	2	3.6	60,440	6.3	55	957,360
13	23.6	135,592	13.4			36,601	3.6	55	1,010,474
10	18.9	129,883	12.6			21,519	2.1	53	1,031,957
11	22.9	174,917	18.1			21,032	2.2	48	967,171
13	27.1	248,330	21.3			5,909	0.5	48	1,165,860
		105,639	8.6			3,917	0.3	48	1,230,161
2	4.2	192,972	14.7			4,611	0.4	48	1,314,793
2	4.2	186,223	13.6			2,524	0.2	48	1,367,205
2	4.2	143,427	10.9			1,691	0.1	48	1,313,192
		949	0.1			34,734	2.5	45	1,378,653
		42,634	2.7			4,800	0.3	45	1,586,610
		32,198	2.1			12,523	0.8	45	1,543,234
		11,722	0.6			18,019	1.0	49	1,856,354
		8,336	0.5			18,857	1.1	49	1,727,123
		5,965	0.3			87,201	4.2	49	2,056,173
						234,583	10.5	54	2,225,802
80	10.2		8.9	2	0.2		1.8	842	

Table 3–28 Prairie Provinces—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, 1935–1988

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	55	49	3		19	55	12		4	50		4		44	17			27		12		225	21
1940	55	36			1	55	25	9	7	45	3	3	1	26	10		7	18		2		180	14
1945	55	52		3		55	14		20	55	6	17		34	10	3		25		2		221	23
1949	53	49	4			53	11	20		47	7	1	16	21	10		3	11				181	21
1953 ²	48	41	4			48	16		11	40	7	7		39	9	2		31				199	9
1957	48	47	6	8		48	6		10	46	10		1	47	15	3		9				197	11
1958	48	48	14	33		48			6	46	1		14	24			13	8				174	33
1962	48	48	42		5	48				48	1	2		45		2		7				196	4
1963	48	48	40		2	48	1	2		47	2		1	46	2			8				197	2
1965	48	48	40	2		48	1		2	48	2	1		40	2			5				189	3
1968 ³	45	45	20	1	14	45	1	9		45	2	6		7			2	13				155	16
1972	45	45	24	9		45	3		8	45	6	3	2	36				6				177	12
1974	45	45	33	3		45		2		45	4		5	39				30				204	
1979 ⁴	49	49	26	1	4	49			1	49	3	4		27				42				216	
1980	49	49	33			49				49	9	5		16				59				222	
1984	49	49	33			49				49	9		5	15				93				255	
1988 ⁵	54	54	16		5	54		4		54	2	3	2					146				308	7
Totals	842	802	338	60	50	842	90	46	69	808	74	56	47	506	58	27	25	538	2	14		3,496	176

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 48 seats which are comparable to the previous election; ²47 seats; ³39 seats; ⁴33 seats; ⁵25 seats.

Table 3–30 British Columbia—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	5	31.3	71,034	24.6	6	37.5	91,729	31.8	3	18.8	97,015	33.6
1940	4	25.0	110,619	30.5	10	62.5	135,920	37.4	1	6.3	103,181	28.4
1945	5	31.3	128,529	30.0	5	31.3	117,737	27.5	4	25.0	125,945	29.4
1949	3	16.7	128,620	27.9	11	61.1	169,018	36.7	3	16.7	145,442	31.5
1953	3	13.6	66,426	14.1	8	36.4	145,570	30.9	7	31.8	125,487	26.6
1957	7	31.8	192,988	32.6	2	9.1	121,301	20.5	7	31.8	131,873	22.3
1958	18	81.8	308,971	49.4			100,889	16.1	4	18.2	153,405	24.5
1962	6	27.3	187,389	27.3	4	18.2	187,438	27.3	10	45.5	212,035	30.9
1963	4	18.2	172,501	23.4	7	31.8	237,896	32.3	9	40.9	222,883	30.3
1965	3	13.6	139,226	19.2	7	31.8	217,726	30.0	9	40.9	239,132	32.9
1968			155,101	19.4	16	69.6	333,949	41.8	7	30.4	260,989	32.7
1972	8	34.8	313,253	33.0	4	17.4	274,468	28.9	11	47.8	332,345	35.0
1974	13	56.5	423,954	41.9	8	34.8	336,435	33.3	2	8.7	232,547	23.0
1979	19	67.9	530,380	44.3	1	3.6	274,946	23.0	8	28.6	381,678	31.9
1980	16	57.1	502,088	41.5			268,262	22.2	12	42.9	426,858	35.3
1984	19	67.9	668,432	46.6	1	3.6	235,394	16.4	8	28.6	502,331	35.1
1988	12	37.5	527,767	34.4	1	3.1	326,801	21.3	19	59.4	567,732	37.0
Totals and Means	145	37.9		31.8	91	23.8		28.1	124	32.4		30.6

¹CCF through 1958. ²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 3-29 Prairie Provinces—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins, 1935-1988

Year	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
1935	12.7	18.2	20.0	20.0	5.5	23.6	55
1940	27.3	29.1	16.4	7.3	9.1	10.9	55
1945	16.4	27.3	20.0	18.2	7.3	10.9	55
1949	22.6	20.8	11.3	15.1	17.0	13.2	53
1953	25.0	16.7	20.8	10.4	14.6	12.5	48
1957	22.9	25.0	14.6	12.5	14.6	10.4	48
1958	4.2	8.3	10.4	12.5	8.3	56.3	48
1962	8.3	16.7	25.0	12.5	14.6	22.9	48
1963	12.5	12.5	6.3	18.8	12.5	37.5	48
1965	6.3	14.6	12.5	14.6	22.9	29.2	48
1968	24.4	31.1	13.3	6.7	6.7	17.8	45
1972	15.6	11.1	6.7	15.6	8.9	42.2	45
1974	17.8	11.1	6.7	8.9	13.3	42.2	45
1979	16.3	6.1	10.2	6.1	4.1	57.1	49
1980	12.2	14.3	10.2	8.2	8.2	46.9	49
1984	10.2	16.3	8.2	8.2	8.2	49.0	49
1988	13.0	18.5	11.1	9.3	9.3	38.9	54
Totals	133	149	112	102	91	255	842
Means	15.7	17.5	13.2	12.0	10.9	30.7	

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		1,796	0.6	2	6.3	27,209	9.4	16	288,783
		506	0.1	1	6.3	12,918	3.6	16	363,144
		9,890	2.3	2	12.5	46,340	10.8	16	428,441
		2,109	0.5	1	5.6	15,879	3.4	18	461,068
4	18.2	123,278	26.1			10,762	2.3	22	471,523
6	27.3	143,145	24.2			2,232	0.4	22	591,539
		59,762	9.6			2,515	0.4	22	625,542
2	9.1	97,396	14.2			1,931	0.3	22	686,189
2	9.1	97,846	13.3			4,846	0.7	22	735,972
3	13.6	126,532	17.4			3,368	0.5	22	725,984
						48,703	6.1	23	798,742
		25,107	2.6			3,116	0.3	23	948,289
		12,433	1.2			5,512	0.5	23	1,010,881
		1,885	0.2			7,023	0.6	28	1,195,912
		1,763	0.1			10,841	0.9	28	1,209,812
		3,094	0.2			23,797	1.7	28	1,433,048
		1,169	0.1			111,548	7.3	32	1,535,017
17	4.4		6.6	6	1.6		2.9	383	

Table 3-31 British Columbia—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, 1935–1988, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	16	15	4	1	3	15	4	1	1	16		2		2				18	1	1	1	66	5
1940	16	15	3	1	1	15	7	3		16	1		2	1				6	1		1	53	4
1945	16	15	2	3	2	15	5		5	16	1	3		9				21	1	1		76	7
1949 ²	18	15	2		2	16	4	6		18	2	1	4	2				5	1		1	56	7
1953 ³	22	16	3			22	8		3	22	3	1		22		3		18			1	100	4
1957	22	22	3	4		22	2		6	22	6	1	1	21	4	2		4				91	7
1958	22	22	7	11		22			2	22	4		3	22		6		5				93	11
1962	22	22	6		12	21		4		22	4	6		4		2		4				73	12
1963	22	22	4		2	22	4	3		22	9		1	22	2			5				93	3
1965	22	22	3		1	22	7			22	9			22	2	1		8				96	1
1968 ⁴	23	23			3	23	6	6		23	5		3	19				9				97	6
1972	23	23		8		23	4		12	23	7	4		19				6				94	12
1974	23	23	9	4		23	2	6	2	23	2		8	10				29				108	10
1979 ⁴	28	28	10	2		28	1		5	28	1	3		4				31				119	5
1980	28	28	15	1	4	28			1	28	8	4		5				39				128	5
1984	28	28	15	4	1	28		1		28	8		4	7				71				162	5
1988 ⁵	32	32	6		3	32	1	1		32	2	2		2				122				218	3
Totals	383	371	92	39	34	377	55	31	37	383	72	27	26	193	8	8	6	401	4	2	4	1,723	107

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 14 seats which are comparable to the previous election; ²16 seats; ³18 seats; ⁴17 seats; ⁵11 seats.

Table 3-33 Northern Territories—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	1	100.0	696	55.6			555	44.4				
1940	1	100.0	915	53.6			793	46.4				
1945	1	100.0	849	40.0							584	27.5
1949					1	100.0	3,284	49.0			1,140	17.0
1953			1,934	26.7	2	100.0	3,898	53.8				
1957			3,611	41.4	2	100.0	5,108	58.6				
1958	1	50.0	5,027	48.9	1	50.0	5,122	49.9				
1962	1	50.0	6,769	47.6	1	50.0	6,506	45.7				
1963	2	100.0	7,783	53.8			6,114	42.3				
1965	1	50.0	6,751	45.2	1	50.0	7,740	51.9			431	2.9
1968	1	50.0	5,321	33.4	1	50.0	9,066	57.0			1,528	9.6
1972	1	50.0	8,671	39.0			6,754	30.4	1	50.0	6,548	29.5
1974	1	50.0	8,184	38.7			5,957	28.1	1	50.0	7,028	33.2
1979	2	66.7	9,948	36.9			8,779	32.6	1	33.3	7,926	29.4
1980	2	66.7	7,924	30.6			9,627	37.2	1	33.3	8,143	31.5
1984	3	100.0	14,707	47.1			7,789	25.0			7,395	23.7
1988			10,109	29.7	2	66.7	10,221	30.1	1	33.3	12,587	37.0
Totals and Means	18	58.1		39.3	9	29.0		40.1	5			14.2

¹CCF through 1958. ²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 3–32 British Columbia—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins, 1935–1988

Year	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
1935	50.0	12.5	18.8	6.3	6.3	6.3	16
1940	31.3	31.3	18.8	6.3	6.3	6.3	16
1945	25.0	50.0	6.3	6.3	6.3	12.5	16
1949	11.1	27.8	16.7	22.2	5.6	16.7	18
1953	27.3	13.6	18.2	5.6	18.2	18.2	22
1957	27.8	5.6	27.3	18.2	18.2	9.1	22
1958	13.6	22.7	5.6	18.2	5.6	36.4	22
1962	31.8	22.7	9.1	5.6	5.6	27.3	22
1963	31.8	18.2	18.2	13.6	5.6	13.6	22
1965	18.2	13.6	27.3	9.1	22.7	9.1	22
1968	26.1	17.4	26.1	13.0	4.4	13.0	23
1972	21.7	13.0	21.7	17.4	17.4	8.7	23
1974	30.4	30.4	13.0	4.0	13.0	8.7	23
1979	17.9	17.9	10.7	14.3	14.3	25.0	28
1980	21.4	14.3	21.4	21.4	3.6	17.9	28
1984	14.3	21.4	14.3	7.1	17.9	25.0	28
1988	21.9	18.8	25.0	18.8	9.4	6.3	32
Totals	91	76	68	47	41	60	383
Means	23.8	19.8	17.8	12.3	10.7	15.7	

Social Credit				Other ²					
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Total	
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Seats	Votes
								1	1,251
								1	1,708
						687	32.4	1	2,120
						2,283	34.0	1	6,707
		998	13.8			421	5.8	2	7,251
								2	8,719
						122	1.2	2	10,271
		948	6.7					2	14,223
		560	3.9					2	14,457
								2	14,922
								2	15,915
						252	1.1	2	22,225
								2	21,169
						273	1.0	3	26,926
						180	0.7	3	25,874
						1,323	4.2	3	31,214
						1,088	3.2	3	34,005
			1.4				4.9	34	

Table 3–34 Northern Territories—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, 1935–1988, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935	1	1	1			1																2	
1940	1	1	1			1																2	
1945	1	1	1							1								1				3	
1949	1				1	1		1		1								1				3	1
1953	2	2				2		1						1				1				6	1
1957	2	2				2	2															4	
1958	2	2				2	1											1				5	1
1962	2	2				2	1							1								5	
1963	2	2		1		2			1					1								5	1
1965	2	2			1	2		1		1												5	1
1968	2	2				2	1			2												6	
1972	2	2				2			1	2		1						1				7	1
1974	2	2				2				2	1											6	
1979	3	3		1		3				3	1											9	1
1980	3	3	2			3				3	1							1				10	
1984	3	3	2	1		3				3			1					1				10	1
1988	3	3			3	3		3		3								3				12	3
Totals	34	33	7	3	2	33	5	6	2	21	3	1	1	3				10				100	11

Table 3–35 Northern Territories—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins, 1935–1988

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935		1					1
1940		1					1
1945			1				1
1949				1			1
1953			1			1	2
1957				1		1	2
1958			2				2
1962	1		1				2
1963		1	1				2
1965		1		1			2
1968	1					1	2
1972	1				1		2
1974		1	1				2
1979	2		1				3
1980	2	1					3
1984	1			1		1	3
1988		1	1			1	3
Totals	8	7	9	4	1	5	34
Means	23.5	20.6	26.5	11.8	2.9	14.7	

The newest of the provinces, having been admitted to Confederation only in 1949, Newfoundland's party system is currently undergoing change. At the federal level, it had essentially been a Liberal stronghold, while in its provincial elections since 1971 a majority of the seats in the House of Assembly have been taken by the Progressive Conservatives.¹ There is now, in effect, a division of apparent constituency loyalties that is not matched in quite the same way in other provinces. "In the mid-1980s, the Liberal and Conservative parties appear to be more evenly balanced than previously, and the NDP has transformed the province into a two-and-one-half party system."² By way of comparison, for instance, British Columbia is a three-party system in its federal elections, and has been all but controlled in its provincial politics by Social Credit since 1952.

Having given more than two-thirds of all its seats and well over half of its vote to the Liberals, it seems fair to describe Newfoundland as essentially in the Liberal camp insofar as federal elections are concerned. Only three times, in 1968 (6 seats), 1972 (4 seats), and 1984 (4 seats), did the Tories get a majority of the province's delegation, and only in 1968 and 1972 were they able to capture a majority of the vote. Third party candidacies have typically not fared very well in the province. Only two NDP candidates have been elected to Commons. One of these was from a riding which had been in the Tory column since 1968, went for the NDP candidate in a 1978 by-election, then swung to the Liberals in 1980 and stayed with the Liberals in the 1984 Tory landslide. The other was won by the NDP in a 1987 by-election and, in 1988, was lost to the Tories.

Both of the major parties have been sufficiently organized to contest most elections. The NDP has been able to field a full slate of candidates only since 1968, while Social Credit has supplied candidates for less than 10 percent of the elections. Reinforcing the point about the Liberals having an essential strength in Newfoundland, it is also interesting to note that they have been able to retain well over half of all the seats they have won, while the Tories have retained less than 20 per cent.

Even though Newfoundland has been a fairly steady member of the Liberal camp in federal elections, it has also shown a polarization of the electorate. A majority of its elections have been decided by margins of 25 percent or more; this is the only province for which this finding holds. These results are not just in favor of the Liberals, by any means, although this was the case early on. For instance, in 1972 two of the three ridings which had such a split favored the Progressive Conservatives; in 1979 one of the four; in 1980 two of the four; in 1984 both ridings (by margins of 56 percent and 64 percent); and in 1988 one of the two.

For elections to the province's House of Assembly there is an entirely different picture. As pointed out above, Newfoundland was, from 1949 to 1971, a heavily Liberal province. In that time the Liberals never received less than 58 percent of the popular vote, never received less than three-fourths of all the assembly seats, and in the 1966 election took more than 90 percent, a degree of one-party control that is seldom matched in Western democracies. Why, then, did the 1971 provincial election turn the once-dominant Liberals into a minority party? Part of the answer lies in the origins of the pro-

vincial parties themselves. The Confederate Association, which had championed the joining of Newfoundland to the rest of Canada, had an electoral success as their basis when they converted themselves to the province's Liberal Party. The party's leader "provided years of campaign oratory to the effect that since all Confederates were now Liberals, it followed that all Progressive Conservatives were anti-Confederates. In a province where an ever increasing majority became persuaded of the benefits of Confederation, the Liberals thus provided themselves with years of electoral victories."³ Although time runs out on many symbols, why did it do so in this case?

Another answer lies in the changing makeup of the province's work force, moving from a rural agrarian and fishing-based economy⁴ to one which was more urban and diversified. Hence, Newfoundland has been undergoing a social mobilization which, however much delayed, has brought the Catholics (normally aligned with the Progressive Conservatives in the province)⁵ to

a more dominant position.⁶ This is reinforced, or mediated, through the dominant role of the churches in providing education. "All schools are owned and operated by either the Roman Catholic, Amalgamated Protestant or Pentecostal churches, with large infusions of public funds and guidance."⁷ Finally, changes in party organization, breaking away from the early leadership roles of single individuals, suggest that the changes which have taken place could yet swing back—that the changes started in 1971 may themselves be only temporary.⁸ (see tables 4-1 through 4-17 at end of text)

Notes

1. A good deal of the analysis of and commentary on the province's politics is somewhat dated but nonetheless useful. An overview is provided by S. J. R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971). Other insights can be found in Ralph Matthews, "Perspectives on Recent Newfoundland Politics," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 9 (May 1974), 20-35; P. Neary, "Democracy in Newfoundland: A Comment,"

Table 4-1 Newfoundland—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935-1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1949	2	28.6	29,203	27.9	5	71.4	75,235	71.9			197	0.2
1953			31,060	28.1	7	100.0	74,357	67.2			707	0.6
1957	2	28.6	34,795	37.8	5	71.4	56,993	61.9			321	0.3
1958	2	28.6	72,282	45.2	5	71.4	86,960	54.4			240	0.2
1962	1	14.3	55,396	36.0	6	85.7	90,896	59.0			7,590	4.9
1963			45,491	30.1	7	100.0	97,576	64.5			6,364	4.2
1965			47,638	32.4	7	100.0	94,291	64.1			1,742	1.2
1968	6	85.7	84,483	52.7	1	14.3	68,549	42.8			7,042	4.4
1972	4	57.1	85,857	49.0	3	42.9	78,505	44.8			8,165	4.7
1974	3	42.9	75,816	43.6	4	57.1	81,299	46.7			16,445	9.5
1979	2	28.6	59,893	29.7	4	57.1	81,861	40.6	1	14.3	59,978	29.7
1980	2	28.6	72,999	36.0	5	71.4	95,354	47.0			33,943	16.7
1984	4	57.1	138,867	57.6	3	3.6	87,778	36.4			13,993	5.8
1988	2	28.6	108,456	42.2	5	71.4	115,690	45.0			31,775	12.4
Totals and Means	30	30.6		39.2	67	68.4		53.3	1	1.0		6.3

¹CCF through 1958.
²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

JCS 4 (February 1969), 37–45; "Party Politics in Newfoundland, 1949–1971: A Survey and Analysis," JCS 6 (November 1971), 3–14; "Politics in Newfoundland: The End of the Smallwood Era," JCS 7 (February 1971), 3–21. More current and focusing on the internal politics of the province is Susan McCorquodale, "Newfoundland: Plus Ça Change, Plus C'est la Même Chose," in Martin Robin, *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces* 2d ed.; Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 138–70.

2. Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), p. 73.
3. McCorquodale, op. cit., p. 146.
4. On this, see Parzival Copes, "The Fisherman's Vote in Newfoundland," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 3 (December 1970), 579–604.
5. "In most of Newfoundland under modern conditions, religious groups have become so intermingled that they can no longer be regarded as the main factor giving unity to electoral districts." Gordon O. Rothney, "The Denominational Basis of Representation in the Newfoundland General Assembly," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 28 (November 1962), 565.
6. Ibid., pp. 155–59.
7. Ibid., p. 159.
8. Ibid., pp. 159–60, 166.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
								7	104,635
						4,459	4.0	7	110,583
								7	92,109
						263	0.2	7	159,745
				158	0.1			7	154,040
						1,943	1.3	7	151,374
				2,352	1.6	1,022	0.7	7	147,045
						126	0.1	7	160,200
				266	0.2	2,253	1.3	7	175,046
				143	0.1	242	0.1	7	173,945
								7	201,732
						749	0.4	7	203,045
						521	0.2	7	241,159
						1,025	0.4	7	256,946
					0.1		0.6	98	

Table 4–2 Newfoundland—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1949	7	7		2		7		5		1												15	
1953	7	7			2	7	5	2		1								1				16	2
1957	7	6		2		7	5		2	1												14	2
1958	7	7	2			7	5			1								1				16	
1962	7	7	1		1	7	5	1		4				1								19	1
1963	7	7			1	7	6	1		3								1				18	1
1965	7	7				7	7			3				4				1				22	
1968	7	7		6		7	1		6	7				1								22	6
1972	7	7	4		2	7	1	2		7				2				1				24	2
1974	7	7	3		1	7	3	1		7				1				1				23	1
1979	7	7	2		1	7	4			7		1										21	1
1980	7	7	2			7	4	1		7			1					3				24	1
1984	7	7	2	2		7	3		2	7								2				23	2
1988 ¹	7	7	2		2	7		2		7								2				23	2
Totals	98	97	18	12	10	98	49	15	10	63		1	1	9				13				280	21

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 5 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Table 4–3 Newfoundland—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1	5.0	10.0	15.0	20.0	25.0–	Total Seats
	–4.9	–9.9	–14.9	–19.9	–24.9	100.0	
1949	1		1			5	7
1953		2				5	7
1957		1	1			5	7
1958			1	1	2	3	7
1962	1	1		1		4	7
1963	1		1			5	7
1965			1	1		5	7
1968	2	1		2	1	1	7
1972		1		1	2	3	7
1974	1				4	2	7
1979				2	1	4	7
1980			1		2	4	7
1984	3		2			2	7
1988	1		2		2	2	7
Totals	10	8	8	8	14	50	98
Means	10.2	8.2	8.2	8.2	14.3	51.0	

Table 4-4 Newfoundland—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista—Twillingate	1,415	12.7	9,744	87.3							11,159
Burin—Burgoe	1,053	7.7	12,590	92.3							13,643
Grand Falls—White Bay	1,879	13.3	12,301	86.7							14,180
Humber—St. George's	1,451	10.8	11,930	89.2							13,381
St. John's East	9,912	55.0	7,913	43.9	197	1.1					18,022
St. John's West	10,344	51.3	9,828	48.7							20,172
Trinity—Conception	3,149	22.4	10,929	77.6							14,078
Province Totals	29,203	27.9	75,235	71.9	197	0.2					104,635
Rejected											555
Total Vote Cast											105,190

Table 4-5 Newfoundland—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista—Twillingate	2,564	20.3	10,072	79.7							12,636
Burin—Burgoe	1,480	11.8	11,017	88.2							12,497
Grand Falls—White Bay—Labrador	4,984	26.7	13,653	73.3							18,637
Humber—St. George's	3,612	22.4	12,526	77.6							16,138
St. John's East	6,691	34.4	8,310	42.7					4,459	22.9	19,460
St. John's West	9,025	47.5	9,965	52.5							18,990
Trinity—Conception	2,704	22.1	8,814	72.1	707	5.8					12,225
Province Totals	31,060	28.1	74,357	67.2	707	0.6			4,459	4.0	110,583
Rejected											1,185
Total Vote Cast											111,768

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (7)

Ind. = 4,459 1

Table 4-6 Newfoundland—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista—Twillingate	1,347	12.8	9,158	87.2							10,505
Burin—Burgoe			acclamation								
Grand Falls—White Bay—Labrador	3,810	24.6	11,681	75.4							15,491
Humber—St. George's	5,080	33.1	10,272	66.9							15,352
St. John's East	10,312	53.2	9,073	46.8							19,385
St. John's West	10,539	54.6	8,449	43.8	321	1.7					19,309
Trinity—Conception	3,707	30.7	8,360	69.3							12,067
Province Totals	34,795	37.8	56,993	61.9	321	0.3					92,109
Rejected											877
Total Vote Cast											92,986

Table 4-7 Newfoundland—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista–Twillingate	4,323	24.0	13,670	76.0							17,993
Burin–Burgeo	4,847	29.9	11,360	70.1							16,207
Grand Falls–White Bay–Labrador	10,129	38.3	16,328	61.7							26,457
Humber–St. George's	10,239	43.2	13,468	56.8							23,707
St. John's East	17,894	65.4	9,197	33.6					263	1.0	27,354
St. John's West	15,953	60.1	10,338	39.0	240	0.9					26,531
Trinity–Conception	8,897	41.4	12,599	58.6							21,496
Province Totals	72,282	45.2	86,960	54.4	240	0.2			263	0.2	159,745
Rejected											1,183
Total Vote Cast											160,928

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (7)
Ind. = 263 1

Table 4-8 Newfoundland—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista–Twillingate	3,846	25.0	11,530	75.0							15,376
Burin–Burgeo	3,163	20.2	12,533	79.8							15,696
Grand Falls–White Bay–Labrador	6,057	24.2	16,401	65.6	2,561	10.2					25,019
Humber–St. George's	7,887	31.6	12,771	51.1	4,313	17.3					24,971
St. John's East	14,821	52.3	12,907	45.6	435	1.5	158	0.6			28,321
St. John's West	12,626	49.4	12,650	49.5	281	1.1					25,557
Trinity–Conception	6,996	36.6	12,104	63.4							19,100
Province Totals	55,396	36.0	90,896	59.0	7,590	4.9	158	0.1			154,040
Rejected											1,223
Total Vote Cast											155,263

Table 4-9 Newfoundland—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista–Twillingate	2,448	15.2	11,748	72.8					1,943	12.0	16,139
Burin–Burgeo	2,439	16.7	12,167	83.3							14,606
Grand Falls–White Bay–Labrador	6,545	25.4	18,233	70.7	1,025	4.0					25,803
Humber–St. George's	4,295	18.9	13,605	59.7	4,873	21.4					22,773
St. John's East	13,911	48.5	14,768	51.5							28,679
St. John's West	10,997	42.0	14,724	56.2	466	1.8					26,187
Trinity–Conception	4,856	28.3	12,331	71.7							17,187
Province Totals	45,491	30.1	97,576	64.5	6,364	4.2			1,943	1.3	151,374
Rejected											801
Total Vote Cast											152,175

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (7)
Ind. Lib. = 1,943 1

Table 4-10 Newfoundland—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista—Twillingate	3,687	26.7	10,113	73.3							13,800
Burin—Burgeo	3,360	22.2	11,350	74.9			444	2.9			15,154
Grand Falls—White Bay—Labrador	5,779	22.9	17,933	71.0			1,560	6.2			25,272
Humber—St. George's	8,208	37.2	13,855	62.8							22,063
St. John's East	11,894	41.1	16,182	56.0	602	2.1	233	0.8			28,911
St. John's West	10,054	39.8	14,481	57.4	580	2.3	115	0.5			25,230
Trinity—Conception	4,656	28.0	10,377	62.5	560	3.4			1,022	6.2	16,615
Province Totals	47,638	32.4	94,291	64.1	1,742	1.2	2,352	1.6	1,022	0.7	147,045
Rejected											1,347
Total Vote Cast											148,392

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (7)
Ind. Lib. = 1,022 1

Table 4-11 Newfoundland—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista—Trinity—Conception	14,823	58.3	10,082	39.6	532	2.1					25,437
Burin—Burgeo	5,440	36.6	8,674	58.3	758	5.1					14,872
Gander—Twillingate	10,601	53.1	9,016	45.1	352	1.8					19,969
Grand Falls—White Bay—Labrador	10,322	50.4	9,587	46.8	571	2.8					20,480
Humber—St. George's—St. Barbe	9,765	43.4	9,482	42.1	3,276	14.5					22,523
St. John's East	18,153	60.9	10,558	35.4	956	3.2	126	0.4			29,793
St. John's West	15,379	56.7	11,150	41.1	597	2.2					27,126
Province Totals	84,483	52.7	68,549	42.8	7,042	4.4	126	0.1			160,200
Rejected											1,370
Total Vote Cast											161,570

Table 4-12 Newfoundland—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista–Trinity–Conception	8,799	38.2	12,635	54.9	832	3.6	127	0.6	616	2.7	23,009
Burin–Burgoe	4,746	25.0	13,883	73.2	336	1.8					18,965
Gander–Twillingate	12,420	53.1	10,396	44.4	577	2.5					23,393
Grand Falls–White Bay–Labrador	8,968	36.2	14,274	57.6	1,523	6.1					24,765
Humber–St. George’s–St. Barbe	16,378	58.0	10,200	36.1	1,666	5.9					28,244
St. John’s East	17,728	60.5	9,887	33.7	1,563	5.3	139	0.5			29,317
St. John’s West	16,818	65.4	7,230	28.1	1,668	6.5			1,637	6.0	27,353
Province Totals	85,857	49.1	78,505	44.9	8,165	4.7	266	0.2	2,253	1.3	174,780
Rejected											7,436
Total Vote Cast											182,216

Vote Cast for “Other”: Ridings (7)

None = 1,637 1

Ind. = 616 1

Table 4-13 Newfoundland—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista–Trinity–Conception	12,117	45.8	13,258	50.1	1,078	4.1					26,453
Burin–Burgoe	2,254	13.7	13,530	82.0	721	4.4					16,505
Gander–Twillingate	8,021	35.0	12,722	55.6	2,143	9.4					22,886
Grand Falls–White Bay–Labrador	5,433	23.5	12,689	54.8	5,026	21.7					23,148
Humber–St. George’s–St. Barbe	16,500	59.3	10,049	36.1	1,279	4.6					27,828
St. John’s East	16,941	56.2	10,187	33.8	2,783	9.2			242	0.8	30,153
St. John’s West	14,550	53.9	8,864	32.9	3,415	12.7	143	0.5			26,972
Province Totals	75,816	43.6	81,299	46.7	16,445	9.5	143	0.1	242	0.1	173,945
Rejected											1,589
Total Vote Cast											175,534

Vote Cast for “Other”: Ridings (7)

Ind. = 242 1

Table 4-14 Newfoundland—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista–Trinity–Conception	5,943	24.1	11,314	45.8	7,448	30.1					24,705
Burin–St. George’s	2,366	11.1	14,960	70.3	3,943	18.5					21,269
Gander–Twillingate	4,727	19.2	15,408	62.6	4,460	18.1					24,595
Grand Falls–White Bay–Labrador	3,418	11.5	13,639	46.1	12,538	42.4					29,595
Humber–Port-au-Port–St. Barbe	5,941	19.4	8,782	28.7	15,872	51.9					30,595
St. John’s East	20,262	58.4	7,734	22.3	6,684	19.3					34,680
St. John’s West	17,236	47.5	10,024	27.6	9,033	24.9					36,293
Province Totals	59,893	29.7	81,861	40.6	59,978	29.7					201,732
Rejected											1,539
Total Vote Cast											203,271

Table 4-15 Newfoundland—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bona Vista—Trinity—Conception	8,388	30.5	14,467	52.7	4,619	16.8			302	1.1	27,776
Burin—St. George's	3,522	16.4	14,979	69.9	2,929	13.7					21,430
Gander—Twillingate	7,788	28.2	17,465	63.3	2,338	8.5					27,591
Grand Falls—White Bay—Labrador	7,375	25.0	15,530	52.7	6,582	22.3					29,487
Humber—Port-au-Port—St. Barbe	6,852	23.2	13,170	44.6	9,535	32.3					29,557
St. John's East	20,007	61.3	8,320	25.5	3,973	12.2			361	1.1	32,661
St. John's West	19,067	55.2	11,423	33.1	3,967	11.5			86	0.2	34,543
Province Totals	72,999	36.0	95,354	47.0	33,943	16.7			749	0.4	203,045
Rejected											1,047
Total Vote Cast											204,092

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (7)
None = 302	1
Ind. = 270	1
M.-L. = 177	2

Table 4-16 Newfoundland—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista—Trinity—Conception	19,015	55.0	14,103	40.8	1,432	4.1					34,550
Burin—St. George's	13,184	47.4	12,885	46.3	1,767	6.3					27,836
Gander—Twillingate	13,076	43.1	16,100	53.1	1,138	3.8					30,314
Grand Falls—White Bay—Labrador	12,114	42.3	12,938	45.1	3,616	12.6					28,668
Humber—Port-au-Port—St. Barbe	16,916	46.9	17,409	48.3	1,530	4.2			196	0.5	36,051
St. John's East	30,866	78.3	5,644	14.3	2,584	6.6			325	0.8	39,419
St. John's West	33,696	76.0	8,699	19.6	1,926	4.3					44,321
Province Totals	138,867	57.6	87,778	36.4	13,993	5.8			521	0.2	241,159
Rejected											1,332
Total Vote Cast											242,491

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (7)
Libert. = 325	1
Ind. = 196	1

Table 4-17 Newfoundland—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Bonavista-Trinity-Conception	17,809	42.9	21,290	51.3	2,372	5.7					41,471
Burin-St. George's	17,488	45.6	18,527	48.4	2,299	6.0					38,314
Gander-Grand Falls	11,478	31.5	20,314	55.8	4,618	12.7					36,410
Humber-St.Barbe-Baie Verte	11,584	29.4	26,361	66.9	1,447	3.7					39,392
Labrador	4,400	33.0	7,126	53.5	1,508	11.3			286	2.1	13,320
St. John's East	21,503	44.1	9,285	19.1	17,198	35.3			739	1.5	48,725
St.John's West	24,194	61.5	12,787	32.5	2,333	5.9					39,314
Province Totals	108,456	42.2	115,690	45.0	31,775	12.4			1,025	0.4	256,946
Rejected											1,061
Total Vote Cast											258,007

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (7)
CHP = 739 1
Ind. = 286 1

Table 4-18 Newfoundland Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1949-1985

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
May 27, 1949	5	17.9	55,111	32.9	22	78.6	109,802	65.5				
November, 26, 1951	4	14.3	46,782	35.6	24	85.7	83,628	63.6				
October 2, 1956	4	11.1	36,591	32.0	32	88.9	75,883	66.3				
August 20, 1959	3	8.3	33,002	25.3	31	86.1	75,560	58.0			9,352	7.2
November 19, 1962	7	17.1	45,055	36.6	34	82.9	72,319	58.7			4,479	3.6
September, 8, 1966	3	7.1	50,316	34.0	39	92.9	91,613	61.8			2,725	1.8
October 28, 1971	22	55.0	118,899	51.3	18	45.0	102,775	44.4			4,075	1.8
March 24, 1972	33	78.6	126,508	60.5	9	21.4	77,849	37.2			410	0.3
September 16, 1975	30	65.2	101,016	45.5	16	34.8	82,270	37.1			9,653	4.4
June 18, 1979	33	63.5	119,151	50.4	19	36.5	95,943	40.6			18,507	7.8
April 6, 1982	44	84.6	152,943	61.2	8	15.4	87,228	34.9			9,371	3.6
April 2, 1985	36	69.2	134,893	48.6	15	28.8	102,016	36.7	1	1.9	39,954	14.4
Totals and Means	224	45.3		42.8	267	53.9		50.4	1	0.2		3.6

¹CCF through 1959.
²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
				1	3.6	2,642	1.6	28	167,555
						1,156	0.9	28	131,566
						1,964	1.7	36	114,438
				2	5.6	12,411	9.5	36	130,325
						1,378	1.1	41	123,231
						3,548	2.4	42	148,202
						5,804	2.5	40	231,553
						4,307	2.1	42	209,074
						28,879	13.0	46	221,818
						2,786	1.2	52	236,387
						425	0.2	52	249,967
						778	0.3	52	277,641
				3	0.6		3.0	495	

The smallest of the provinces in both population and land area, Prince Edward Island has, with the exceptions of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, the least representation in Commons. Internally, it has been described as "one of the largest governments in the world. . . . The number of politicians and civil servants per population, per square mile, and per dollar earned or spent is immense."¹ It can be fairly described as a virtually pure two-party system over a considerable period of time.

Throughout its entire post-Confederation history, Prince Edward Island has been characterized by a two-party system. Not only have there been two major parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, but they have never permitted any others to take root. . . . PEI was the last Atlantic province to show any sign of NDP support. Moreover, the two parties have alternated regularly in office and have always divided the popular vote in equal proportions, never going above 60 percent or below 40 percent.²

On the whole, its federal politics have inclined toward the Progressive Conservatives, but internally it has generally been in the Liberal camp.³

Until the 1988 election, Prince Edward Island was one of the three provinces where a single party (in this case the Progressive Conservatives) had averaged a majority of the popular vote in its federal elections. Newfoundland and Quebec, providing majorities to the Liberals, are the other two. It has also provided more than 60 percent of its seats to the Tories. This is due not to some apparently overwhelming attachment to the Progressive Conservatives by the province's voters (the difference in average vote is about 3

percent), but to the virtual absence of significant third-party opposition. The CCF/NDP has been able to average a mere 3.5 percent, although this seems likely to increase somewhat as they have averaged more than 6 percent in the last six elections of this period. Social Credit and other candidacies have provided only the most token of opposition.

Despite having dominated the island's federal elections from 1935 to 1953, the Liberals were, for a while, a virtually permanent minority, winning no seats at all in the six elections from 1957 through 1968, and again in 1979. Yet this is not from an absence of support. What would have been a sufficient percentage of votes in most provinces to win a major share of the seats has simply been too little in the case of Prince Edward Island, given the absence of significant third-party involvement.

The vigor of the campaigns is indicated by a turnover rate (percentage of seats changed) of more than 30 percent. The major parties have also fielded candidates in every riding in every election. Unusually, this was the case even in the 1935, 1940, and 1945 elections when the Conservatives were at considerably less than full strength on a national basis. Prince Edward Island, for that matter, is the only province to have a full slate for the two major parties in all elections. This may very well reflect the fact that it is the province with the fewest seats, but there is an alternative explanation as well.

Referring to the four Maritime Provinces, Williams suggests that politics is "the national sport."⁴ Reinforcing this, McKinnon describes the province as one where political interest and participation are both high and combative, that "there is no question of the amount of fun

Islanders have with their politics.”⁵ Even granting that this characterization was meant to apply to Prince Edward Island’s internal politics, it is no surprise that both major parties have contested every election.

We can see that more than 56 percent of the seats have been decided by margins of less than 10 percent, suggesting that the province is reasonably competitive. Indeed, using this measure, the island is the *most* competitive of the provinces in this regard. This suggests that the Liberals could make a comeback under the right conditions. That these conditions were not met under the national Liberal leadership of Pierre Trudeau may reflect the fact that Prince Edward Island is, ethnically, one of the most homogeneous of the provinces, second only to that of Newfoundland, having a population which is overwhelmingly of British ancestry.⁶ What *does*

divide the island, and quite likely party loyalties, is religion, so much so “that it might well be said that the Island has four political parties: Liberal, Conservative, Catholic, and Protestant.”⁷ Hence, Trudeau’s religion, the Roman Catholics having almost 4 percent fewer votes,⁸ could very well have been as much of an obstacle to Liberal success in Prince Edward Island’s federal elections as was his ethnicity.

The story for third parties is considerably more bleak. Only the CCF/NDP has been able to contest a fair number of ridings, and not consistently until 1968. Social Credit and other candidacies have been more absent than present.

The internal politics of Prince Edward Island reflects a different picture in terms of dominant party. The Liberals have been able to control the province’s government following 11 of the 15 elections, and the Tories have done so the other

Table 5–1 Prince Edward Island—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935			23,602	38.4	4	100.0	35,757	58.2				
1940			28,028	44.7	4	100.0	34,664	55.3				
1945	1	25.0	30,025	47.4	3	75.0	30,696	48.4			2,685	4.1
1949	1	25.0	32,989	48.4	3	75.0	33,480	49.2			1,626	2.4
1953	1	25.0	31,836	48.0	3	75.0	33,874	51.1			552	0.8
1957	4	100.0	34,965	52.3			31,162	46.6			680	1.0
1958	4	100.0	42,911	62.2			25,847	37.5			215	0.3
1962	4	100.0	37,388	51.3			31,603	43.3			3,802	5.1
1963	4	100.0	35,965	52.0			32,073	46.4			1,140	1.6
1965	4	100.0	38,566	53.9			31,532	44.1			1,463	2.0
1968	4	100.0	26,276	51.8			22,854	45.0			1,636	3.0
1972	3	75.0	29,419	51.9	1	25.0	22,950	40.5			4,229	7.6
1974	3	75.0	28,578	49.1	1	25.0	26,932	46.2			2,666	4.6
1979	4	100.0	34,147	52.8			26,231	40.6			4,181	6.3
1980	2	50.0	30,653	46.3	2	50.0	31,005	46.8			4,339	6.6
1984	3	75.0	38,160	52.0	1	25.0	30,075	41.0			4,737	6.4
1988			31,372	41.5	4	100.0	37,761	49.9			5,661	7.6
Totals and Means	42	61.8		49.6	26	38.2		46.5				3.0

¹CCF through 1958.
²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

4 times. What is even more remarkable is that there has been no third party representation at all in the Prince Edward Island legislature. According to McKinnon, there are no policy differences between the two major parties. They are pragmatic to the ultimate degree, as “each has advocated and opposed everything, depending on whether it was the party in power or in opposition at the time.”⁹ Hence, traditional party identifications plus the careful use of patronage appear to be the major determinants of who will rule in this clearly two-party province. (see tables 5–1 through 5–21 at end of text)

Notes

1. Frank McKinnon, “Prince Edward Island: Big Engine, Little Body,” in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial*

Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces, 2d ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 222. See also his *The Government of Prince Edward Island* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951).

2. Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), pp. 93–94.

3. An accessible and fairly current analysis of this phenomenon can be found in Ian Stewart, “Friends at Court: Federalism and Provincial Elections on Prince Edward Island,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 19 (March 1986), 127–50.

4. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

5. McKinnon, “Prince Edward Island,” *op. cit.*, p. 236.

6. Some 77 percent of the population is of single-origin British ancestry, almost 5 percent more than that found in Nova Scotia. Almost 7 percent more can claim mixed British ancestry. *Federal Electoral Districts: Selected Social and Economic Characteristics* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1983).

7. McKinnon, “Prince Edward Island,” *op. cit.*, p. 237.

8. See note 6.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						2,089	3.4	4	61,448
								4	62,692
								4	63,406
								4	68,095
								4	66,262
								4	66,807
								4	68,973
		153	0.2					4	72,946
								4	69,178
								4	71,561
								4	50,766
		55	0.1					4	56,653
						77	0.1	4	58,253
						54	0.1	4	64,613
						208	0.3	4	66,205
						442	0.6	4	73,414
						842	1.1	4	75,636
			0.0				0.3	68	

Table 5–2 Prince Edward Island—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935	4	4			3	4	1	3										3				11	3
1940	4	4				4	4															8	
1945	4	4				4	4			4												12	
1949	4	4		2		4	2		2	2												10	2
1953	4	4			2	4	2	2		1												9	2
1957	4	4		4		4			4	3												11	4
1958	4	4	4			4				1												9	
1962	4	4	4			4				4				1								13	
1963	4	4	2		2	4		2		4												12	2
1965	4	4	2	2		4			2													8	2
1968	4	4	4			4				4												12	
1972	4	4	3		1	4		1		4				1								13	1
1974	4	4	3			4	1			4												12	
1979	4	4	3			4	1			4								1				13	
1980	4	4	2		1	4	1	1		4								2				14	1
1984	4	4	2	1		4	1		1	4								2				14	1
1988	4	4			3	4	1	3		4								2				14	3
Totals	68	68	29	9	12	68	18	12	9	47				2				10				195	21

Table 5–3 Prince Edward Island—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935		2		1	1		4
1940		2	1		1		4
1945	4						4
1949	3	1					4
1953	3	1					4
1957	3	1					4
1958		1			1	2	4
1962	2		2				4
1963	2		2				4
1965	2		2				4
1968	2	1	1				4
1972	1		1	2			4
1974		2	2				4
1979	1		1		2		4
1980	2	1	1				4
1984		1	2			1	4
1988	1	1	2				4
Totals	26	12	19	2	5	4	68
Means	38.2	17.6	27.9	2.9	7.4	5.9	

Table 5–4 Prince Edward Island—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	3,510	36.4	5,895	61.1					249	2.6	9,654
Prince	5,063	35.4	9,233	64.6							14,296
Queens ¹	15,029	40.1	20,629	55.0					1,840	4.9	37,498
Province Totals	23,602	38.4	35,757	58.2					2,089	3.4	61,448
Rejected											193
Total Vote Cast											61,641

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (4)
Reconstn. = 2,089 2

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5–5 Prince Edward Island—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	4,081	45.0	4,997	55.0							9,078
Prince	5,767	39.7	8,745	60.3							14,512
Queens ¹	18,180	46.5	20,922	53.5							39,102
Province Totals	28,028	44.7	34,664	55.3							62,692
Rejected											251
Total Vote Cast											62,943

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5–6 Prince Edward Island—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	4,282	46.3	4,655	50.3	317	3.4					9,254
Prince	7,277	46.8	7,346	47.3	911	5.9					15,534
Queens ¹	18,466	47.8	18,695	48.4	1,457	3.8					38,618
Province Totals	30,025	47.4	30,696	48.4	2,685	4.2					63,406
Rejected											401
Total Vote Cast											63,807

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5–7 Prince Edward Island—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	4,482	46.9	5,079	53.1							9,561
Prince	7,834	46.0	8,007	47.0	1,182	6.9					17,023
Queens ¹	20,673	49.8	20,394	49.1	444	1.1					41,511
Province Totals	32,989	48.4	33,480	49.2	1,626	2.4					68,095
Rejected											298
Total Vote Cast											68,393

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5–8 Prince Edward Island—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	4,373	47.9	4,750	52.1							9,123
Prince	7,431	44.3	8,782	52.4	552	3.3					16,765
Queens ¹	20,032	49.6	20,342	50.4							40,374
Province Totals	31,836	48.0	33,874	51.1	552	0.8					66,262
Rejected											300
Total Vote Cast											66,562

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5–9 Prince Edward Island—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	4,598	52.1	4,146	46.9	87	1.0					8,831
Prince	8,119	49.7	7,885	48.2	339	2.1					16,343
Queens ¹	22,248	53.4	19,131	46.0	254	0.6					41,633
Province Totals	34,965	52.3	31,162	46.6	680	1.0					66,807
Rejected											414
Total Vote Cast											67,221

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5–10 Prince Edward Island—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	5,018	56.4	3,884	43.6							8,902
Prince	10,444	60.4	6,636	38.4	215	1.2					17,295
Queens ¹	27,449	64.2	15,327	35.8							42,776
Province Totals	42,911	62.2	25,847	37.5	215	0.3					68,973
Rejected											329
Total Vote Cast											69,302

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5–11 Prince Edward Island—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	4,548	48.4	4,383	46.6	467	5.0					9,398
Prince	9,133	49.7	8,492	46.3	735	4.0	153	0.8			18,360
Queens ¹	23,707	52.6	18,728	41.6	2,600	5.8					45,035
Province Totals	37,388	51.4	31,603	43.4	3,802	5.2	153	0.2			72,793
Rejected											563
Total Vote Cast											73,356

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5–12 Prince Edward Island—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	4,304	47.4	4,705	51.9	62	0.7					9,071
Prince	8,387	47.7	8,967	50.9	247	1.4					17,601
Queens ¹	23,274	54.8	18,401	43.3	831	2.0					42,506
Province Totals	35,965	52.0	32,073	46.4	1,140	1.6					69,178
Rejected											308
Total Vote Cast											69,486

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5—13 Prince Edward Island—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kings	4,591	50.2	4,451	48.7	106	1.2					9,148
Prince	9,082	51.1	8,312	46.8	384	2.2					17,778
Queens ¹	24,893	55.8	18,769	42.0	973	2.2					44,635
Province Totals	38,566	53.9	31,532	44.1	1,463	2.0					71,561
Rejected											445
Total Vote Cast											72,006

¹Dual constituency.

Table 5—14 Prince Edward Island—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cardigan	5,717	49.5	5,623	48.7	203	1.8					11,543
Egmont	7,182	53.5	5,945	44.3	292	2.2					13,419
Hillsborough	8,328	53.0	6,447	41.1	930	5.9					15,705
Malpeque	5,049	50.0	4,839	47.9	211	2.1					10,099
Province Totals	26,276	51.8	22,854	45.0	1,636	3.2					50,766
Rejected											459
Total Vote Cast											51,225

Table 5—15 Prince Edward Island—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cardigan	5,111	41.2	5,528	44.5	1,771	14.3					12,410
Egmont	7,868	56.0	5,681	40.4	501	3.6	55	0.4			14,050
Hillsborough	10,605	55.1	7,168	37.3	1,464	7.6					19,237
Malpeque	5,835	53.5	4,573	42.0	493	4.5					10,901
Province Totals	29,419	52.0	22,950	40.5	4,229	7.5	55	0.1			56,598
Rejected											2,425
Total Vote Cast											59,023

Table 5–16 Prince Edward Island—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cardigan	5,429	42.4	6,958	54.3	423	3.3					12,810
Egmont	7,583	52.2	6,422	44.2	509	3.5					14,514
Hillsborough	9,917	50.4	8,577	43.6	1,197	6.1					19,691
Malpeque	5,649	50.6	4,975	44.6	537	4.8			77	0.7	11,238
Province Totals	28,578	49.1	26,932	46.3	2,666	4.6			77	0.1	58,253
Rejected											396
Total Vote Cast											58,649

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (4)
None = 77 1

Table 5–17 Prince Edward Island—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cardigan	8,219	48.1	7,972	46.7	892	5.2					17,083
Egmont	8,861	56.1	6,233	39.4	710	4.5					15,804
Hillsborough	8,338	55.0	5,319	35.1	1,453	9.6			54	0.4	15,164
Malpeque	8,729	52.7	6,707	40.5	1,126	6.8					16,562
Province Totals	34,147	52.8	26,231	40.6	4,181	6.5			54	0.1	64,613
Rejected											518
Total Vote Cast											65,131

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (4)
Libert. = 54 1

Table 5–18 Prince Edward Island—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cardigan	8,006	44.9	8,590	48.2	1,054	5.9			180	1.0	17,380
Egmont	7,033	42.6	8,639	52.4	824	5.0					16,496
Hillsborough	7,128	47.7	6,555	43.8	1,245	8.3			28	0.2	14,956
Malpeque	8,486	50.1	7,221	42.7	1,216	7.2					16,923
Province Totals	30,653	46.3	31,005	46.8	4,339	6.6			208	0.3	66,205
Rejected											353
Total Vote Cast											66,558

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (4)
Ind. = 180 1
M.-L. = 28 1

Table 5-19 Prince Edward Island—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cardigan	10,566	53.4	8,344	42.1	891	4.5					19,807
Egmont	7,859	44.6	8,777	49.8	994	5.6					17,630
Hillsborough	9,158	54.2	6,768	40.1	846	5.0			442	2.6	17,214
Malpeque	10,577	56.4	6,186	33.0	2,006	10.7					18,769
Province Totals	38,160	52.0	30,075	41.0	4,737	6.5			442	0.6	73,414
Rejected											387
Total Vote Cast											73,801

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (4)
None = 323	1
Ind. = 82	1
GP = 37	1

Table 5-21 Prince Edward Island Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935-1986

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
July 23, 1935			31,780	42.0	30	100.0	43,824	58.0				
May 18, 1939	3	10.0	35,600	47.0	27	90.0	40,205	53.0				
September 15, 1943	10	33.3	31,849	46.1	20	66.7	35,396	51.3			1,436	2.1
December 11, 1947	6	20.0	37,461	45.8	24	80.0	40,758	49.8			3,509	4.3
August 26, 1951	6	20.0	36,971	46.7	24	80.0	40,847	51.6			1,336	1.7
May 25, 1955	3	10.0	36,705	45.0	27	90.0	44,918	55.0				
September 1, 1959	22	73.3	43,845	50.9	8	26.7	42,214	49.1				
December 10, 1962	19	63.3	44,707	50.6	11	36.7	43,603	49.4				
May 30, 1966	15	46.9	46,118	49.5	17	53.1	47,056	50.5				
May 11, 1970	5	15.6	46,075	41.7	27	84.4	64,484	58.3				
April 29, 1974	6	18.8	46,315	40.3	26	81.3	61,967	53.9			6,786	5.9
June 1, 1978	15	46.9	60,878	48.1	17	53.1	64,133	50.7			1,173	0.9
April 23, 1979	21	65.6	68,410	53.3	11	34.4	58,180	45.3			1,655	1.3
September 27, 1982	21	65.6	71,274	53.7	11	34.4	60,771	45.8			629	0.5
April 21, 1986	11	34.4	68,062	45.5	21	65.6	75,187	50.3			5,965	4.0
Totals and Means	163	37.7		44.0	301	69.7		48.1				1.7

Note: the above data represent the combined election returns for the two chambers, Assembly and Council, each having half the total seats

¹CCF through 1959.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 5-20 Prince Edward Island—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cardigan	7,936	43.9	9,325	51.6	805	4.5					18,066
Egmont	7,538	39.4	10,158	53.1	1,438	7.5					19,134
Hillsborough	8,638	42.4	8,897	43.7	1,984	9.7			842	4.1	20,361
Malpeque	7,260	40.2	9,381	51.9	1,434	7.9					18,075
Province Totals	31,372	41.5	37,761	49.9	5,661	7.5			842	1.1	75,636
Rejected											339
Total Vote Cast											75,975

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (4)

Ind.	=	569	1
CHP	=	273	1

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
								30	75,604
								30	75,805
						379	0.5	30	69,060
						89	0.1	30	81,817
								30	79,154
								30	81,623
								30	86,059
								30	88,310
								32	93,174
								32	110,559
								32	115,068
						257	0.2	32	126,441
						200	0.2	32	128,445
								32	132,674
						280	0.2	32	149,494
								0.1	432

Of the provinces discussed thus far, Nova Scotia would have to be considered one of the long-term strongholds of the Progressive Conservatives, while at the same time showing certain elements of a multiparty system.¹ Prior to this, as Dyck points out regarding its provincial politics, it was a

Liberal one-party dominant system from 1867 to 1956, for during this period there were only two short Conservative deviations from Liberal rule, and third parties had only brief success. . . . Depending on future Liberal prospects and leadership, the system could move in the direction of a two-and-one-half or a three-party system, since the level of third-party support appears to be rising consistently.²

Looking at both sets of elections in this fifty-year period, it might be fair to describe the province as a “two-and-a-fraction” party system. If we examine only the internal politics of the province, we would have to question the conclusion of one of the leading commentators on the subject, who sees it as “a one-and-a-half party system [which] has been converted into a genuine two-party system.”³

It is quite possible that this conclusion is valid, based as it is on all results from 1867 to 1974. However, at both the federal and provincial levels, the Liberals have recently been in a long-term decline, finally interrupted in 1988. The Tories have been able to capture a majority of the seats in both sets of elections, especially in recent years, while the Liberals have been able to score occasional successes and the NDP has generally been able to win only a few seats. It seems likely that one of the two conclusions is

time-bound, and it remains to be seen whether the long-term or shorter view will prevail.

In 1935 Nova Scotia gave all its federal seats (and 52 percent of the popular vote) to the Liberals, a degree of one-party domination which has seldom been seen in Canada. However, unlike the long-term dominance of Quebec by the Liberals, or the recent control of Alberta by the Tories, it was never again to be quite this strong, declining to either 9 or 10 seats of the 12 through the next 4 elections. Starting with the 1953 election, the Progressive Conservatives were able to establish and fairly well maintain a long-term grip on the province. It won all of the seats in the 1958 landslide, and only lost a majority in 1963, when the then-dual constituency of Halifax temporarily switched back to the Liberals.⁴ For the 1957–88 period, the Tories have been able to win an average of 48.5 percent of the popular vote, while the Liberals have received only 40.2 percent.

Third-party presence in Nova Scotia's elections has generally been at a low level. The CCF/NDP have been able to win only a few seats in these 17 federal elections, never more than one per election. In recent years their average share of the vote has increased to double digits, but they have suffered as a consequence of maldistribution of their votes. For instance, in 1979 they received roughly half the votes won by the Liberals, and captured one seat, half of the Liberal total. Yet, in 1980, again capturing half the Liberal total, they won no seats at all, while the Liberals took five. In 1984 their vote fell off slightly to roughly 45 percent of the Liberal vote, and again won no seats to the Liberals' two. And in 1988 they received less than a quarter of the Liberal vote. Taking these comparisons

even further, to the Progressive Conservatives, the maldistribution is even more apparent.

Virtually every election has been contested by both major parties, the sole exception being in 1935, when the Conservatives were just one short of having candidates stand in every riding. The CCF/NDP has experienced mixed success in this regard in Nova Scotia, contesting all seats twice (1945 and 1962) from 1935 to 1963, but running a full slate starting in 1965. Social Credit had a great deal of difficulty in the province, fielding a few candidates in only six election years. Similarly, Independent and "other" party candidacies have seldom appeared in the province.

Although Nova Scotia has had federal elections which have been quite dominated by first one and then the other of the two major parties, the province has been relatively competitive. Nearly half of the elections have been decided by margins of less than 10 percent. Similarly, the proportion of elections decided by 25 per-

cent or more has increased to almost 25 percent, although it is still below the national mean of 28 percent.

Turning to provincial elections, we see a similar lack of success for the minor parties. Social Credit did not have any candidates whatsoever. The CCF/NDP has had some marginal success, winning one to four seats in all but two of the 15 elections. What little success other candidacies had met with is really attributable to one person, the Member from Cape Breton Nova, who won as an Independent in 1981 and was the sole Labor Party candidate (out of 14) to win in 1984.

Despite a weak initial showing over the first few elections of this period, the Tories have been able to win an absolute majority of all the seats contested in these 15 elections. In the first five, 1937–53, they were evidently handicapped by a maldistribution. In 1937, for example, they won only 5 of the 30 seats, while receiving 46 percent of the vote. Worse yet, in 1945 they received a third of the votes and won no seats,

Table 6–1 Nova Scotia—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935			87,893	32.1	12	100.0	142,334	52.0				
1940	1	8.3	112,206	39.8	10	83.3	142,514	50.6	1	8.3	17,715	6.3
1945	2	16.7	114,214	36.8	9	75.0	141,911	45.7	1	8.3	51,892	16.7
1949	2	15.4	126,365	37.5	10	76.9	177,680	52.7	1	7.7	33,333	9.9
1953	1	8.3	133,498	40.1	10	83.3	176,554	53.0	1	8.3	22,357	6.7
1957	10	83.3	197,676	50.4	2	16.7	176,891	45.1			17,117	4.4
1958	12	100.0	237,422	57.0			160,026	38.4			18,911	4.5
1962	9	75.0	198,902	47.3	2	16.7	178,520	42.4	1	8.3	39,689	9.4
1963	5	41.7	195,711	46.9	7	58.3	195,007	46.7			26,617	6.4
1965	10	83.3	203,123	48.6	2	16.7	175,415	42.0			38,043	9.1
1968	10	90.9	186,026	55.2	1	9.1	127,962	38.0			22,676	6.7
1972	10	90.9	204,460	53.4	1	9.1	129,738	33.9			47,072	12.3
1974	8	72.7	183,897	47.5	2	18.2	157,582	40.7	1	9.1	43,470	11.2
1979	8	72.7	193,099	45.4	2	18.2	151,078	35.5	1	9.1	79,603	18.7
1980	6	54.5	163,459	38.7	5	45.5	168,304	39.9			88,052	20.9
1984	9	81.8	233,713	50.7	2	18.2	154,954	33.6			70,190	15.2
1988	5	45.5	196,390	40.9	6	54.5	223,175	46.5			54,515	11.4
Totals and Means	108	54.5		45.2	83	41.9		43.3	7	3.5		10.0

¹CCF through 1958.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

while the CCF, with 65,000 fewer votes, took two seats. The effects of this maldistribution on the Conservatives was notable.

By returning to the legislature only a corporal's guard of members from a party that normally polled two-fifths of the vote, that party was left lacking in leadership, low in morale, and deficient in organization. Only a deep-seated tradition of party identification enabled it to survive at all.⁵

But survive it evidently has. In the last 10 elections, by contrast, the Tories have won 8 times, averaging 63.4 percent of the seats and 47.9 percent of the vote. Now it remains to be seen whether and when the Liberals, who have seen their popular vote share decrease to levels equaling the Conservative low point of 1945, can regain their impetus and once again become a competitive party in both federal as well as provincial elections.
(see tables 6-1 through 6-21)

Notes

1. A useful if somewhat dated treatment of the broader subject of Nova Scotia's politics is J. Murray Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957).
2. Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), p. 125.
3. J. Murray Beck, "Nova Scotia: Tradition and Conservatism," in Martin Robin, *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces*, 2d ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 202. See also his "The Electoral Behaviour in Nova Scotia in 1965," *Dalhousie Review* 46 (Spring 1966), 29-38.
4. For reports on this intriguing but now-defunct anomaly, see Morris Davis, "Did They Vote for Candidate or Party in Halifax?" in John Meisel, ed., *Papers on the 1962 Election* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), chap. 30; "Ballot Box Behaviour in Halifax Revisited," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 39 (November 1964), 538-58; and "A Last Look at Ballot Box Behaviour in the Dual Constituency of Halifax," *CJEPS* 32 (August 1966), 366-71.
5. Beck, "Nova Scotia: Tradition and Conservatism," op. cit., p. 192.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						43,540	15.9	12	273,767
						9,217	3.3	12	281,652
						2,650	0.9	12	310,667
								13	337,378
						794	0.2	12	333,203
		473	0.1					12	392,157
								12	416,359
		3,764	0.9					12	420,875
		401	0.1					12	417,736
						1,249	0.3	12	417,830
						293	0.1	11	336,957
		1,316	0.3			501	0.1	11	383,087
		1,457	0.4			458	0.1	11	386,864
						1,829	0.4	11	425,609
						2,427	0.6	11	422,242
						1,735	0.4	11	460,592
						5,762	1.2	11	479,842
			0.1				1.4	198	

Table 6–2 Nova Scotia—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935	12	11			9	12	3	9		11								12				46	9
1940	12	12		1		12	10		2	6		1						1				31	2
1945	12	12	1	1		12	9		1	12	1							5				41	1
1949	13	13	2		1	13	8	1		9												35	1
1953	12	12	1		2	12	8	2		5								1				30	2
1957	12	12	1	9		12	2		8	6		1	1									31	9
1958	12	12	10	2		12			2	4												28	2
1962	12	12	9		3	12		2		12		1		7								43	3
1963	12	12	6	1	3	12	2	3		9		1	2									35	4
1965	12	12	7	3		12	2		3	12								2				38	3
1968	11	11	10			11	1			11				4				1				38	
1972	11	11	10			11	1			11				4								37	
1974	11	11	8		2	11	1	1		11		1	8					4				45	2
1979	11	11	7	1	1	11	1	1	1	11	1							7				40	2
1980	11	11	6		1	11	2	3	1	11			1					9				42	3
1984	11	11	6	3		11	2		3	11								4				37	3
1988 ¹	11	11	5		3	11	2	3		11								13				46	3
Totals	198	197	89	21	25	198	54	25	21	163	2	3	3	26				59				643	49

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 10 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Table 6–3 Nova Scotia—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935	3		2	1	2	4	12
1940	2	4	2		4		12
1945	4	1	3	2	1	1	12
1949	3	5			2	3	13
1953	3	1	3	1	2	2	12
1957	5	4	3				12
1958	1	2	3	2	4		12
1962	5	6		1			12
1963	4	8					12
1965	4	3	4	1			12
1968	1	1	3	2	2	2	11
1972		3		1	3	4	11
1974	1	3	3	4			11
1979	3	1	3		1	3	11
1980	3	1	5	2			11
1984		2	2		1	6	11
1988	4	4	1			2	11
Totals	46	49	37	17	22	27	198
Means	23.2	24.7	18.7	8.6	11.1	13.6	

Table 6-4 Nova Scotia—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish—Guysborough			7,779	67.3					3,783	32.7	11,562
Cape Breton North—Victoria	4,067	29.3	6,457	46.4					3,377	24.3	13,901
Cape Breton South	7,355	26.1	10,409	37.0					10,373	36.9	28,137
Colchester—Hants	9,402	44.9	9,608	45.9					1,923	9.2	20,933
Cumberland	7,158	41.9	7,473	43.7					2,469	14.4	17,100
Digby—Annapolis—Kings	7,266	31.7	13,894	60.6					1,773	7.7	22,933
Halifax ¹	26,874	31.3	47,470	55.4					11,398	13.3	85,742
Inverness—Richmond	4,672	27.8	9,488	56.4					2,648	15.8	16,808
Pictou	6,513	34.0	8,416	44.0					4,202	22.0	19,131
Queens—Lunenburg	9,500	48.1	10,238	51.9							19,738
Shelburne—Yarmouth—Clare	5,086	28.6	11,102	62.4					1,594	9.0	17,782
Province Totals	87,893	32.1	142,334	52.0					43,540	15.9	273,767
Rejected											1,756
Total Vote Cast											275,523

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (12)
Reconstn. = 38,175 10
Comm. = 5,365 1

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6-5 Nova Scotia—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish—Guysborough	4,610	38.8	7,281	61.2							11,891
Cape Breton North—Victoria	5,156	38.0	6,326	46.6	2,097	15.4					13,579
Cape Breton South	9,719	29.8	11,364	34.8	11,582	35.5					32,665
Colchester—Hants	10,044	44.9	12,328	55.1							22,372
Cumberland	8,073	46.0	8,061	46.0	1,403	8.0					17,537
Digby—Annapolis—Kings	9,518	38.7	15,094	61.3							24,612
Halifax ¹	36,311	41.0	41,487	46.8	1,561	1.8			9,217	10.4	88,576
Inverness—Richmond	7,069	43.7	9,123	56.3							16,192
Pictou	8,292	43.9	9,983	52.8	615	3.3					18,890
Queens—Lunenburg	6,845	38.2	10,616	59.2	457	2.6					17,918
Shelburne—Yarmouth—Clare	6,569	37.7	10,851	62.3							17,420
Province Totals	112,206	39.8	142,514	50.6	17,715	6.3			9,217	3.3	281,652
Rejected											1,776
Total Vote Cast											283,428

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (12)
Ind. Lib. = 9,217 1

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6–6 Nova Scotia—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish—Guysborough	3,483	32.7	6,379	59.9	791	7.4					10,653
Cape Breton North—Victoria	5,441	38.3	5,895	41.4	2,886	20.3					14,222
Cape Breton South	7,343	20.8	10,529	29.8	16,575	46.9			917	2.6	35,364
Colchester—Hants	11,141	45.6	11,133	45.6	2,165	8.9					24,439
Cumberland	9,121	46.9	6,522	33.5	3,807	19.6					19,450
Digby—Annapolis—Kings	9,885	38.1	14,445	55.7	1,252	4.8			362	1.4	25,944
Halifax ¹	36,219	34.5	50,023	47.6	17,720	16.9			1,048	1.0	105,010
Inverness—Richmond	5,037	33.7	8,177	54.8	1,720	11.5					14,934
Pictou	9,387	42.5	9,774	44.2	2,610	11.8			323	1.5	22,094
Queens—Lunenburg	8,562	43.8	9,693	49.6	1,295	6.6					19,550
Shelburne—Yarmouth—Clare	8,595	45.2	9,341	49.1	1,071	5.6					19,007
Province Totals	114,214	36.8	141,911	45.7	51,892	16.7			2,650	0.9	310,667
Rejected											2,287
Total Vote Cast											312,954

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (12)
Lab. Prog. = 1,800	3
Ind. = 488	1
Farm.-Lab. = 362	1

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6–7 Nova Scotia—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Annapolis—Kings	13,198	50.0	13,202	50.0							26,400
Antigonish—Guysborough	4,385	36.6	7,586	63.4							11,971
Cape Breton North and Victoria	5,083	30.5	9,461	56.8	2,102	12.6					16,646
Cape Breton South	5,618	16.9	12,608	37.9	15,057	45.2					33,283
Colchester—Hants	13,550	49.2	13,149	47.8	814	3.0					27,513
Cumberland	9,850	49.8	8,718	44.1	1,205	6.1					19,773
Digby—Yarmouth	9,505	46.2	11,084	53.8							20,589
Halifax ¹	37,049	32.5	65,028	57.1	11,795	10.4					113,872
Inverness—Richmond	5,082	32.4	10,584	67.6							15,666
Lunenburg	7,527	44.5	8,829	52.2	574	3.4					16,930
Pictou	9,236	42.8	10,930	50.7	1,397	6.5					21,563
Queens—Shelburne	6,282	47.7	6,501	49.4	389	3.0					13,172
Province Totals	126,365	37.5	177,680	52.7	33,333	9.9					337,378
Rejected											1,550
Total Vote Cast											338,928

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6–8 Nova Scotia—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish—Guysborough	3,395	33.0	6,884	67.0							10,279
Cape Breton North and Victoria	6,218	39.5	9,535	60.5							15,753
Cape Breton South	4,726	15.4	10,151	33.1	14,971	48.9			794	2.6	30,642
Colchester—Hants	12,271	47.4	12,660	48.9	936	3.6					25,867
Cumberland	8,263	48.3	8,860	51.7							17,123
Digby—Annapolis—Kings	16,422	51.6	15,387	48.4							31,809
Halifax ¹	50,664	40.8	68,809	55.3	4,851	3.9					124,324
Inverness—Richmond	5,302	37.0	9,033	63.0							14,335
Pictou	8,778	41.8	10,626	50.6	1,599	7.6					21,003
Queens—Lunenburg	10,067	43.5	13,053	56.5							23,120
Shelburne—Yarmouth—Clare	7,392	39.0	11,556	61.0							18,948
Province Totals	133,498	40.1	176,554	53.0	22,357	6.7			794	0.2	333,203
Rejected											1,652
Total Vote Cast											334,855

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (12)
Lab. Prog. = 794 1

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6–9 Nova Scotia—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish—Guysborough	6,053	50.8	5,856	49.2							11,909
Cape Breton North and Victoria	9,097	46.5	8,717	44.5	1,753	9.0					19,567
Cape Breton South	14,894	40.4	11,539	31.3	10,447	28.3					36,880
Colchester—Hants	15,231	53.8	12,151	42.9	912	3.2					28,294
Cumberland	10,065	54.5	8,398	45.5							18,463
Digby—Annapolis—Kings	18,534	58.0	13,417	42.0							31,951
Halifax ¹	82,239	50.6	76,695	47.2	3,546	2.2					162,480
Inverness—Richmond	7,177	47.2	8,035	52.8							15,212
Pictou	12,208	54.5	9,251	41.3	459	2.0	473	2.1			22,391
Queens—Lunenburg	12,372	50.6	12,098	49.4							24,470
Shelburne—Yarmouth—Clare	9,806	47.7	10,734	52.3							20,540
Province Totals	197,676	50.4	176,891	45.1	17,117	4.4	473	0.1			392,157
Rejected											2,067
Total Vote Cast											394,224

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6–10 Nova Scotia—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish–Guysborough	6,758	53.7	5,827	46.3							12,585
Cape Breton North and Victoria	12,046	58.3	8,616	41.7							20,662
Cape Breton South	17,636	45.9	7,754	20.2	13,044	33.9					38,434
Colchester–Hants	15,653	54.5	11,779	41.0	1,267	4.4					28,699
Cumberland	11,379	60.2	7,525	39.8							18,904
Digby–Annapolis–Kings	19,432	58.2	13,981	41.8							33,413
Halifax ¹	106,948	59.9	67,143	37.6	4,600	2.6					178,691
Inverness–Richmond	7,725	50.1	7,709	49.9							15,434
Pictou	13,618	60.4	8,911	39.6							22,529
Queens–Lunenburg	14,156	57.2	10,594	42.8							24,750
Shelburne–Yarmouth–Clare	12,071	54.2	10,187	45.8							22,258
Province Totals		57.0		38.4		4.5					416,359
Rejected											2,120
Total Vote Cast											418,479

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6–11 Nova Scotia—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish–Guysborough	6,183	48.3	6,296	49.2	208	1.6	104	0.8			12,791
Cape Breton North and Victoria	11,019	50.2	7,541	34.3	3,403	15.5					21,963
Cape Breton South	13,602	35.1	7,774	20.0	17,409	44.9					38,785
Colchester–Hants	14,128	47.8	13,836	46.8	1,207	4.1	411	1.4			29,582
Cumberland	9,524	50.7	7,817	41.6	1,265	6.7	165	0.9			18,771
Digby–Annapolis–Kings	17,499	52.6	14,511	43.6	803	2.4	456	1.4			33,269
Halifax ¹	84,768	46.9	82,107	45.4	12,117	6.7	1,784	1.0			180,776
Inverness–Richmond	7,333	44.5	8,331	50.6	816	5.0					16,480
Pictou	10,837	49.3	9,153	41.6	1,539	7.0	470	2.1			21,999
Queens–Lunenburg	12,847	53.7	10,489	43.8	593	2.5					23,929
Shelburne–Yarmouth–Clare	11,162	49.5	10,665	47.3	329	1.5	374	1.7			22,530
Province Totals	198,902	47.3	178,520	42.4	39,689	9.4	3,764	0.9			420,875
Rejected											2,681
Total Vote Cast											423,556

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6-12 Nova Scotia—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish—Guysborough	5,835	45.7	6,947	54.3							12,782
Cape Breton North and Victoria	10,508	49.2	8,507	39.8	2,347	11.0					21,362
Cape Breton South	14,307	38.9	9,184	24.9	13,327	36.2					36,818
Colchester—Hants	14,387	48.9	14,185	48.3	822	2.8					29,394
Cumberland	9,034	50.2	8,082	44.9	874	4.9					17,990
Digby—Annapolis—Kings	16,887	49.8	16,471	48.5	579	1.7					33,937
Halifax ¹	84,203	46.0	91,447	50.0	7,326	4.0					182,976
Inverness—Richmond	7,013	45.6	8,373	54.4							15,386
Pictou	10,566	51.0	8,847	42.7	1,127	5.4	181	0.9			20,721
Queens—Lunenburg	12,591	52.6	11,357	47.4							23,948
Shelburne—Yarmouth—Clare	10,380	46.3	11,607	51.8	215	1.0	220	1.0			22,422
Province Totals	195,711	46.9	195,007	46.7	26,617	6.4	401	0.1			417,736
Rejected											1,616
Total Vote Cast											419,352

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6-13 Nova Scotia—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Antigonish—Guysborough	6,163	48.9	6,210	49.3	228	1.8					12,601
Cape Breton North and Victoria	11,258	52.8	8,208	38.5	1,868	8.8					21,334
Cape Breton South	13,670	37.0	12,455	33.7	10,846	29.3					36,971
Colchester—Hants	15,250	51.5	12,962	43.8	1,078	3.6			299	1.0	29,589
Cumberland	9,560	53.2	7,088	39.4	1,327	7.4					17,975
Digby—Annapolis—Kings	17,845	53.2	14,636	43.7	1,049	3.1					33,530
Halifax ¹	86,990	47.4	78,133	42.6	17,370	9.5			950	0.5	183,443
Inverness—Richmond	6,798	44.3	8,137	53.0	427	2.8					15,362
Pictou	11,289	52.8	8,509	39.8	1,568	7.3					21,366
Queens—Lunenburg	13,556	57.7	9,193	39.1	744	3.2					23,493
Shelburne—Yarmouth—Clare	10,744	48.5	9,884	44.6	1,538	6.9					22,166
Province Totals	203,123	48.6	175,415	42.0	38,043	9.1			1,249	0.3	417,830
Rejected											2,316
Total Vote Cast											420,146

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (12)
Ind. = 1,249 2

¹Dual constituency.

Table 6-14 Nova Scotia—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Annapolis Valley	17,435	56.6	12,342	40.1	1,007	3.3					30,784
Cape Breton—East Richmond	11,583	41.9	8,284	30.0	7,749	28.1					27,616
Cape Breton Highlands—Canso	13,195	48.2	13,725	50.2	445	1.6					27,365
Cape Breton—The Sydneys	14,971	51.7	10,543	36.4	3,426	11.8					28,940
Central Nova	16,720	58.6	9,499	33.3	2,330	8.2					28,549
Cumberland—Colchester North	18,446	60.9	10,139	33.5	1,696	5.6					30,281
Dartmouth—Halifax East	19,694	55.2	14,429	40.4	1,572	4.4					35,695
Halifax	19,569	60.3	11,555	35.6	1,314	4.1					32,438
Halifax—East Hants	22,323	59.5	13,488	35.9	1,718	4.6					37,529
South Shore	17,547	58.5	11,668	38.9	764	2.5					29,979
South Western Nova	14,543	52.3	12,290	44.2	655	2.4			293	1.1	27,781
Province Totals	186,026	55.2	127,962	38.0	22,676	6.7			293	0.1	336,957
Rejected											2,643
Total Vote Cast											339,600

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (11)
Ind. PC = 293 1

Table 6-15 Nova Scotia—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Annapolis Valley	20,962	58.5	12,800	35.7	1,788	5.0	299	0.8			35,849
Cape Breton—East Richmond	12,071	38.7	9,066	29.1	10,064	32.3					31,201
Cape Breton Highlands—Canso	14,463	43.4	16,929	50.8	1,929	5.8					33,321
Cape Breton—The Sydneys	15,394	47.8	9,529	29.6	7,314	22.7					32,237
Central Nova	18,259	57.0	9,288	29.0	4,117	12.8	397	1.2			32,061
Cumberland—Colchester North	19,455	58.5	10,163	30.6	3,635	10.9			245	0.7	33,498
Dartmouth—Halifax East	24,553	57.5	13,543	31.7	4,358	10.2	261	0.6			42,715
Halifax	17,966	56.2	10,039	31.4	3,936	12.3			121	0.4	32,062
Halifax—East Hants	27,645	58.2	14,308	30.1	5,530	11.6			135	0.3	47,618
South Shore	18,653	57.3	11,602	35.6	2,297	7.1					32,552
South Western Nova	15,039	50.2	12,471	41.6	2,104	7.0	359	1.2			29,973
Province Totals	204,460	53.4	129,738	33.9	47,072	12.3	1,316	0.3	501	0.1	383,087
Rejected											8,503
Total Vote Cast											391,590

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (11)
None = 501 3

Table 6-16 Nova Scotia—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Annapolis Valley	19,174	52.5	15,712	43.0	1,366	3.7	121	0.3	135	0.4	36,508
Cape Breton—East Richmond	7,847	24.7	9,746	30.6	14,210	44.7					31,803
Cape Breton Highlands—Canso	12,401	38.5	17,977	55.8	1,819	5.6					32,197
Cape Breton—The Sydneys	14,373	44.2	12,622	38.8	5,523	17.0					32,518
Central Nova	17,459	53.9	11,753	36.3	2,869	8.9	292	0.9			32,373
Cumberland—Colchester North	18,078	52.8	13,666	39.9	2,369	6.9	133	0.4			34,246
Dartmouth—Halifax East	22,090	51.5	17,444	40.6	3,076	7.2	181	0.4	135	0.3	42,926
Halifax	14,865	49.3	12,282	40.7	2,817	9.3	140	0.5	75	0.2	30,179
Halifax—East Hants	25,563	51.1	18,308	36.6	5,861	11.7	204	0.4	113	0.2	50,049
South Shore	18,206	54.5	13,006	39.0	1,950	5.8	222	0.7			33,384
South Western Nova	13,841	45.1	15,066	49.1	1,610	5.2	164	0.5			30,681
Province Totals	183,897	47.5	157,582	40.7	43,470	11.2	1,457	0.4	458	0.1	386,864
Rejected											1,966
Total Vote Cast											388,830

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (11)
M.-L. = 458 4

Table 6-17 Nova Scotia—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Annapolis Valley—Hants	20,103	50.1	12,001	29.9	8,008	20.0					40,112
Cape Breton—East Richmond	7,411	22.0	10,257	30.5	15,269	45.3			734	2.2	33,671
Cape Breton Highlands—Canso	13,736	38.8	17,047	48.1	4,657	13.1					35,440
Cape Breton—The Sydneys	12,011	34.0	12,857	36.4	10,310	29.2			128	0.4	35,306
Central Nova	18,907	56.6	9,988	29.9	4,521	13.5					33,416
Cumberland—Colchester	22,827	55.8	12,154	29.7	5,662	13.8			294	0.7	40,937
Dartmouth—Halifax East	21,441	48.7	15,453	35.1	7,116	16.2					44,010
Halifax	16,570	40.5	16,555	40.4	7,590	18.5			246	0.6	40,961
Halifax West	22,714	47.4	16,702	34.8	8,265	17.2			427	0.9	48,108
South Shore	20,867	57.1	11,666	31.9	3,988	10.9					36,521
South West Nova	16,512	44.5	16,398	44.2	4,217	11.4					37,127
Province Totals	193,099	45.4	151,078	35.5	79,603	18.7			1,829	0.4	425,609
Rejected											2,137
Total Vote Cast											427,746

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (11)
Ind. = 1,458 4
M.-L. = 155 2
None = 152 1
Comm. = 64 1

Table 6–18 Nova Scotia—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Annapolis Valley–Hants	17,152	42.0	12,804	31.3	10,338	25.3			576	1.4	40,870
Cape Breton–East Richmond	7,115	22.4	12,478	39.3	12,184	38.3					31,777
Cape Breton Highlands–Canso	12,799	35.3	18,262	50.4	4,902	13.5			272	0.8	36,235
Cape Breton–The Sydneys	9,191	26.5	15,164	43.8	10,180	29.4			85	0.2	34,620
Central Nova	15,576	48.0	11,111	34.3	5,743	17.7					32,430
Cumberland–Colchester	18,463	46.3	13,737	34.5	7,111	17.8			531	1.3	39,842
Dartmouth–Halifax East	17,968	41.9	16,200	37.7	8,764	20.4					42,932
Halifax	15,710	38.6	16,949	41.6	8,009	19.7			48	0.1	40,716
Halifax West	19,195	40.0	18,522	38.6	10,043	20.9			266	0.6	48,026
South Shore	16,139	44.4	13,926	38.3	5,856	16.1			433	1.2	36,354
South West Nova	14,151	36.8	19,151	49.8	4,922	12.8			216	0.6	38,440
Province Totals	163,459	38.7	168,304	39.9	88,052	20.9			2,427	0.6	422,242
Rejected											1,813
Total Vote Cast											424,055

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (11)
Ind. = 1,518	5
Rhino = 776	2
M.-L. = 133	2

Table 6–19 Nova Scotia—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Annapolis Valley–Hants	23,580	53.8	12,463	28.5	6,987	16.0			762	1.7	43,792
Cape Breton–East Richmond	11,896	32.8	20,270	55.8	3,709	10.2			444	1.2	36,319
Cape Breton Highlands–Canso	19,371	50.0	15,026	38.8	4,308	11.1					38,705
Cape Breton–The Sydneys	13,658	37.5	16,051	44.1	6,673	18.3					36,382
Central Nova	21,462	61.0	9,148	26.0	4,572	13.0					35,182
Cumberland–Colchester	24,180	57.3	12,489	29.6	5,527	13.1					42,196
Dartmouth–Halifax East	27,549	54.9	13,084	26.1	9,503	19.0					50,136
Halifax	18,779	44.8	14,411	34.4	8,576	20.4			174 ¹	0.4	41,940
Halifax West	30,287	54.3	13,529	24.2	11,626	20.8			355	0.6	55,797
South Shore	22,347	56.7	11,439	29.0	5,633	14.3					39,419
South West Nova	20,604	50.6	17,044	41.9	3,076	7.6					40,724
Province Totals	233,713	50.7	154,954	33.6	70,190	15.2			1,735	0.4	460,592
Rejected											2,293
Total Vote Cast											462,885

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (11)
Rhino = 1,206	2
Ind. = 355	1
None = 174	1

¹Table 5 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* lists these votes as "None," but Part IV (the analysis by riding) shows them as cast for an Independent.

Table 6-20 Nova Scotia—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Annapolis Valley—Hants	20,763	44.2	18,840	40.1	5,886	12.5			1,518	3.2	47,007
Cape Breton—East Richmond	7,173	20.8	22,786	66.2	4,482	13.0					34,441
Cape Breton Highlands—Canso	17,557	44.0	20,318	50.9	2,036	5.1					39,911
Cape Breton—The Sydneys	10,901	28.8	23,931	63.3	2,999	7.9					37,831
Central Nova	19,065	48.6	15,066	38.4	5,110	13.0					39,241
Cumberland—Colchester	20,384	46.2	18,340	41.6	4,112	9.3			1,298	2.9	44,134
Dartmouth	19,863	41.8	21,958	46.2	5,162	10.9			556	1.2	47,539
Halifax	19,840	38.0	22,470	43.0	9,269	17.7			671	1.3	52,250
Halifax West	24,815	44.8	21,409	38.6	9,011	16.3			217	0.4	55,452
South Shore	18,547	46.5	16,995	42.6	4,052	10.1			329	0.8	39,923
South West Nova	17,482	41.5	21,062	50.0	2,396	5.7			1,173	2.8	42,113
Province Totals	196,390	40.9	223,175	46.5	54,515	11.4			5,762	1.2	479,842
Rejected											1,822
Total Vote Cast											481,664

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (11)
CHP	= 3,579	3
Libert.	= 1,068	3
Ind.	= 344	2
Com'lth.	= 311	2
None	= 309	2
Comm.	= 151	1

Table 6–21 Nova Scotia Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1937–1988

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
June 29, 1937	5	16.7	143,670	46.0	25	83.3	165,397	52.9				
October 8, 1941	4	13.3	106,133	40.3	23	76.7	138,915	52.7	3	10.0	18,583	7.0
October 23, 1945		0.0	97,774	33.5	28	93.3	153,503	52.7	2	6.7	39,637	13.0
June 9, 1949	7	18.9	134,311	39.2	27	73.0	174,604	51.0	2	5.4	32,869	9.0
May 26, 1953	13	35.1	150,480	43.6	22	59.5	169,118	49.0	2	5.4	23,700	6.0
October 30, 1956	24	55.8	160,996	48.6	18	41.9	159,656	48.2	1	2.3	9,932	3.0
June 7, 1960	27	62.8	168,023	48.3	15	34.9	147,951	42.6	1	2.3	31,036	8.0
October 8, 1963	39	90.7	191,128	56.2	4	9.3	134,873	39.7			14,076	4.0
May 30, 1967	40	87.0	180,498	52.8	6	13.0	142,945	41.8			17,873	5.0
October 13, 1970	21	45.7	177,986	46.9	23	50.0	174,943	46.1	2	4.3	25,259	6.0
April 2, 1974	12	26.1	166,388	38.6	31	67.4	206,648	47.9	3	6.5	55,902	13.0
September 19, 1978	31	59.6	203,500	45.8	17	32.7	175,218	39.4	4	7.7	63,979	14.0
October 6, 1981	37	71.2	200,228	47.5	13	25.0	139,604	33.2	1	1.9	76,289	18.0
September 27, 1984	42	80.8	209,298	50.6	6	11.5	129,310	31.3	3	5.8	65,876	15.0
September 6, 1988	28	53.8	202,705	43.4	21	40.4	185,062	39.6	2	3.8	73,677	15.0
Totals and Means	330	51.6		42.5	279	43.7		41.9	26	4.1		8.0

¹CCF through 1960

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						3,396	1.1	30	312,463
								30	263,631
						634	0.2	30	291,548
				1	2.7	749	0.2	37	342,533
						2,065	0.6	37	345,363
						812	0.2	43	331,396
						650	0.2	43	347,660
								43	340,077
						498	0.1	46	341,814
						1,464	0.4	46	379,652
						2,220	0.5	46	431,158
						2,008	0.5	52	444,705
				1	1.9	5,002	1.2	52	421,123
				1	1.9	8,952	2.2	52	413,436
				1	1.9	5,638	1.2	52	467,082
				4	0.6		0.5	639	

As compared to the three provinces we have examined thus far, New Brunswick emerges most clearly as a two-party electoral system at both the federal and provincial levels.¹

In most respects New Brunswick possesses Canada's most perfect and longest standing two-party system. Ever since Confederation there have been two major parties in the province and they have alternated in power at regular intervals, most commonly after serving two terms each.²

This is, as we have seen, rather characteristic of the Maritime Provinces. Yet it would be difficult to attribute this to the ethnic homogeneity which otherwise characterizes the region, since New Brunswick is, of the four provinces in this region, most clearly and evenly divided between francophones and anglophones.³ At the provincial level, Fitzpatrick describes New Brunswick as

parochial, stagnant, and anachronistic . . .

The Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties dominate the political environment without fear of challenge or stimulation by third parties, traditionally sustained by gerrymandering, patronage, and constituencies with hereditary political loyalties kept intact by ancient ethnic and religious antagonisms.⁴

For the most part the province has been predominantly Liberal in its federal election returns. In the 17 elections we examine, a popular vote majority has been received 7 times, 6 of these by the Liberals. In terms of seats won, they have been able to gain a majority 10 times, and have evenly divided the seats with the Tories 4 times.

Only in the 1958 and 1984 national Tory land-slides could they get a majority of both votes as well as seats. For the most part, the NDP has been unable to do well at the polls, never having won any seats or getting as much as 20 percent of the popular vote. The appearances of Social Credit were minimal and reflect both an absence of organization as well, apparently, of any popular appeal. Minor party candidacies and Independents have for the most part done poorly except for one instance in 1974, when an Independent defeated the Progressive Conservative incumbent. He did not later stand for reelection.

Writing in 1978, Fitzpatrick describes the province as 59.2 percent British versus 34.2 percent French in origin, and 51.7 percent Roman Catholic versus 40.6 percent of major Protestant sects.⁵ Probably as a consequence of this narrow division of the citizens on ethno-linguistic and religious lines, electoral margins in New Brunswick are normally relatively narrow.

Both parties, Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, have been quite consistent in terms of contesting for office. As pointed out, the NDP has never really been able to establish a foothold in terms of popular vote and was not able to field candidates in every riding until 1965. Similarly, Social Credit has made only a minimal show of contesting for office, contesting every riding only once, in 1963. Given the ways in which the two major parties have institutionalized conflict in the province, it is also not surprising that Independent and other candidates have made relatively few appearances in New Brunswick.

Roughly a third of all the contests have been decided by 10 percent or less. This has changed

radically since the 1972 ballot change which included party for the first time. In the period through 1968, 38.2 percent of all contests were won by less than 10 percent, and only 20 percent were won by margins of 25 percent or more. Since 1972, almost 37 percent have been won by these wide margins, suggesting that a polarization of the New Brunswick electorate has taken hold. However, this proposition should be treated with caution, for it would seem that we are not dealing with polarization so much as volatility, inasmuch as these wide margins are sometimes gained by Liberal and sometimes by Tory candidates. It is possible to read too much into these limited data, as the 1984 results show. In this instance the Tories captured 9 of the 10 seats from New Brunswick, and 5 of these by wide margins, results not repeated in 1988. However, this was an instance in which the province's voters were not only following the national landslide, but were able to blur the

differences which nominally divide them. The leadership of Brian Mulroney, a fluent French-speaking anglophone from Quebec Province, could appeal to Acadians and English-heritage voters alike, minimizing the normal support for Liberals by French and Irish Catholics.⁶

At the provincial level each major party has enjoyed considerable success. So much are the minor parties excluded from governance that there has never been occasion to have coalition government in the province. Instead, there is a tendency for one of the two parties to win several elections in a row, creating a certain stability in office. So much is this the case that Premier Richard Bennett Hatfield held office from 1970 until his disastrous defeat in 1987, giving him the greatest seniority in that position of any provincial leader. It is notable that he did so despite an environment which has often focused on personal rather than issue politics. For instance, "during a 1970 budget debate,

Table 7-1 New Brunswick—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	1	10.0	56,145	31.9	9	90.0	100,537	57.2			18,408	10.0
1940	5	50.0	74,970	43.4	5	50.0	94,383	54.6			761	0.4
1945	3	30.0	77,225	38.3	7	70.0	100,939	50.0			14,999	7.4
1949	2	20.0	88,049	39.4	8	80.0	120,369	53.8			9,450	4.1
1953	3	30.0	93,450	41.9	7	70.0	117,619	52.7			6,769	3.0
1957	5	50.0	114,060	48.7	5	50.0	112,518	48.1			2,001	0.9
1958	7	70.0	133,935	54.1	3	30.0	107,297	43.4			4,541	1.8
1962	4	40.0	115,973	46.5	6	60.0	110,850	44.4			13,220	5.3
1963	4	40.0	98,462	40.4	6	60.0	115,036	47.3			8,899	3.5
1965	4	40.0	102,714	42.5	6	60.0	114,781	47.5			22,759	9.3
1968	5	50.0	125,269	49.7	5	50.0	111,843	44.4			12,277	5.0
1972	5	50.0	131,455	44.9	5	50.0	125,935	43.1			16,703	5.3
1974	3	30.0	94,934	33.0	6	60.0	135,723	47.2			24,869	8.5
1979	4	40.0	134,998	40.0	6	60.0	150,634	44.6			51,642	15.0
1980	3	30.0	109,056	32.5	7	70.0	168,316	50.1			54,517	16.0
1984	9	90.0	202,144	53.6	1	10.0	120,326	31.9			53,332	14.0
1988	5	50.0	155,062	40.4	5	50.0	173,960	45.4			35,790	9.0
Totals and Means	72	42.4		42.4	97	57.1		47.4				7.7

¹CCF through 1958.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

the Minister of Education could make parenthetical references to then Opposition Leader Hatfield's apparent reluctance to marry, implying some deficiency in the frontier virtues."⁷ Perhaps because of this focus on personality politics, the highly popular Hatfield was able to lead his party in 1982 to its strongest victory, leaving the Liberals with just 13 seats in the Legislative Assembly. During 1985 the premier had to face a number of charges alleging a fondness for drugs and parties with young boys.⁸ This latter is probably the major reason why his party received its biggest defeat ever in 1987. In that election the Liberals received over 60 percent of the popular vote and took every seat. This is only the second time this has happened, the last in 1935 when the Liberals won all seats in Prince Edward Island. Clearly, such a success (or failure) by one of the two parties is most unusual and cannot be expected to continue. As the Hatfield debacle recedes in memory, we can

expect a restoration of some semblance of the normal balance between the parties.
(see tables 7-1 through 7-21)

Notes

1. A useful overview of the province's political life is provided in Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), chap. 4. Also useful if somewhat dated is P. J. Fitzpatrick, "New Brunswick: The Politics of Pragmatism," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces*, 2d ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 129-37.

2. Dyck, op. cit., pp. 163-64.

3. A recent study of this aspect of New Brunswick's political culture is Stephen H. Ullman, "The Political Attitudes of New Brunswick's Acadian and Anglophones: Old Wine in New Bottles?" *American Review of Canadian Studies* 16 (Summer 1986), 161-80.

4. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 120.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 123.

8. See *Maclean's* 98 (February 18, 1985), pp. 12-15.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
umber	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						672	0.4	10	175,762
						2,679	1.6	10	172,793
		2,300	1.1			6,423	3.2	10	201,886
						5,789	2.6	10	223,657
		931	0.4			4,317	1.9	10	223,086
		2,420	1.0			3,159	1.3	10	234,158
		1,711	0.7					10	247,484
		9,016	3.6			441	0.2	10	249,500
		21,050	8.6					10	243,447
		1,433	0.6					10	241,687
		1,769	0.7			821	0.3	10	251,979
		16,450	5.6			1,948	0.7	10	292,491
		8,407	2.9	1	10.0	23,417	8.1	10	287,350
						258	0.1	10	337,532
						3,841	1.1	10	335,730
		102	0.1			1,446	0.4	10	377,350
						18,773	4.9	10	383,585
			1.5	1	0.6		1.6	170	

Table 7-2 New Brunswick—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935	10	10	1		7	10	2	7										10				30	7
1940	10	10	1	4		10	5		4	1								1				22	4
1945	10	9	3		2	10	5	2		8				1				1				29	2
1949	10	10	2		1	10	7	1		6								3				29	1
1953	10	10	3	2		10	5		2	7				1				1				29	2
1957	10	10	4	1		10	5		1	2				2				1				25	1
1958	10	10	5	2		10	3		2	3				3								26	2
1962	10	10	4		3	10	3	3		7				8				1				36	3
1963	10	10	4			10	6			7				10								37	
1965	10	10	4			10	6			10				1				1				32	
1968 ¹	10	10	2	1		10	3		1	10								3				33	1
1972	10	10	5			10	5			10				8				1				39	
1974	10	10	3		2	10	5	1		10				5				3	1			38	2
1979	10	10	3	1		10	5	1	1	10								1		1		31	2
1980	10	10	3		1	10	6	1		10								9				39	1
1984	10	10	3	6		10	1		6	10				1				4				35	6
1988 ¹	10	10	4		2	10		2		10								13				43	2
Totals	170	169	54	17	18	170	72	18	17	121				40				53	1	1		553	35

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 6 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Table 7-3 New Brunswick—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935	2	1	1	1		5	10
1940	4	1		1	1	3	10
1945	2	2	2	1		3	10
1949	3	1	1	1	2	2	10
1953	2	2	2	1	1	2	10
1957	1	4	1	3	1		10
1958	3	2	2	1	1	1	10
1962	2	3	3	1	1		10
1963	1	2	2	1	2	2	10
1965	1	1	2	4		2	10
1968	1	1	4	2		2	10
1972		1	2	3	1	3	10
1974		2	3	1		4	10
1979	1	1	3		1	4	10
1980	2		3			5	10
1984	1	2		2		5	10
1988	3	3	2	1		1	10
Totals	29	29	33	24	11	44	170
Means	17.1	16.3	17.1	19.4	6.5	25.9	

Table 7-4 New Brunswick—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	3,386	32.1	5,436	51.5					1,732	16.4	10,554
Gloucester	2,962	18.8	11,816	75.0					985	6.2	15,763
Kent	1,593	16.7	6,504	68.2					1,442	15.1	9,539
Northumberland	3,253	23.9	7,662	56.3					2,697	19.8	13,612
Restigouche—Madawaska	4,045	23.0	13,562	77.0							17,607
Royal	7,474	47.8	7,329	46.8					849	5.4	15,652
St. John—Albert	11,643	36.9	15,125	48.0					4,766	15.1	31,534
Victoria—Carleton	6,405	40.8	7,500	47.8					1,791	11.4	15,696
Westmorland	6,342	24.4	16,307	62.8					3,312	12.8	25,961
York—Sunbury	9,042	45.6	9,296	46.8					1,506	7.6	19,844
Province Totals	56,145	31.9	100,537	57.2					19,080	10.9	175,762
Rejected											1,723
Total Vote Cast											177,485

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (10)
Reconstr. = 18,408 ¹	9
Ind. Lib. = 672	1

¹Details of the Reconstruction vote can be found in Scarrow (1962).

Table 7-5 New Brunswick—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	4,391	41.9	6,099	58.1							10,490
Gloucester	5,447	34.3	10,451	65.7							15,898
Kent	3,032	35.2	5,582	64.8							8,614
Northumberland	5,149	39.9	5,072	39.3					2,679	20.8	12,900
Restigouche—Madawaska	5,239	30.1	12,164	69.9							17,403
Royal	8,017	52.7	7,196	47.3							15,213
St. John—Albert	15,110	50.3	14,197	47.2	761	2.5					30,068
Victoria—Carleton	7,974	52.3	7,283	47.7							15,257
Westmorland	10,259	38.4	16,431	61.6							26,690
York—Sunbury	10,352	51.1	9,908	48.9							20,260
Province Totals	74,970	43.4	94,383	54.6	761	0.4			2,679	1.6	172,793
Rejected											1,941
Total Vote Cast											174,734

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (10)
Ind. Lib. = 2,679	1

Table 7–6 New Brunswick—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	5,456	49.9	5,486	50.1							10,942
Gloucester			11,683	62.4	609	3.3			6,423	34.3	18,715
Kent	3,089	29.4	6,835	65.0	584	5.6					10,508
Northumberland	7,425	46.6	8,507	53.4							15,932
Restigouche—Madawaska	5,205	23.5	12,200	55.2	2,412	10.9	2,300	10.4			22,117
Royal	8,915	53.0	6,769	40.2	1,134	6.7					16,818
St. John—Albert	16,205	46.8	14,248	41.1	4,190	12.1					34,643
Victoria—Carleton	9,365	54.5	7,132	41.5	689	4.0					17,186
Westmorland	11,612	35.7	17,251	53.0	3,707	11.4					32,570
York—Sunbury	9,953	44.3	10,828	48.2	1,674	7.5					22,455
Province Totals	77,225	38.3	100,939	50.0	14,999	7.4	2,300	1.1	6,423	3.2	201,886
Rejected											2,387
Total Vote Cast											204,273

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (10)
Ind. = 6,423 1

Table 7–7 New Brunswick—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	6,139	49.8	6,197	50.2							12,336
Gloucester	6,391	30.2	14,759	69.8							21,150
Kent	2,496	21.3	5,754	49.0	406	3.5			3,084	26.3	11,740
Northumberland	6,980	39.5	9,840	55.6	336	1.9			533	3.0	17,689
Restigouche—Madawaska	6,238	25.6	15,919	65.4					2,172	8.9	24,329
Royal	9,501	51.9	7,863	43.0	933	5.1					18,297
St. John—Albert	17,052	44.7	18,691	48.9	2,445	6.4					38,188
Victoria—Carleton	10,429	55.0	8,539	45.0							18,968
Westmorland	11,696	32.4	20,649	57.3	3,702	10.3					36,047
York—Sunbury	11,127	44.7	12,158	48.8	1,628	6.5					24,913
Province Totals	88,049	39.4	120,369	53.8	9,450	4.2			5,789	2.6	223,657
Rejected											2,220
Total Vote Cast											225,877

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (10)
Ind. Lib. = 3,084 1
Un. Elec. = 2,172 1
Ind. = 533 1

Table 7-8 New Brunswick—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	5,180	44.1	6,155	52.4	416	3.5					11,751
Gloucester	9,542	41.2	13,330	57.6	276	1.2					23,148
Kent	3,603	33.9	7,039	66.1							10,642
Northumberland	5,107	30.8	10,666	64.3	808	4.9					16,581
Restigouche—Madawaska	7,724	29.2	13,266	50.2	1,126	4.3			4,317	16.3	26,433
Royal	9,725	55.0	7,968	45.0							17,693
St. John—Albert	18,881	49.5	18,338	48.1	933	2.4					38,152
Victoria—Carleton	8,445	49.1	7,809	45.4			931	5.4			17,185
Westmorland	14,788	39.9	20,160	54.4	2,099	5.7					37,047
York—Sunbury	10,455	42.8	12,888	52.7	1,111	4.5					24,454
Province Totals	93,450	41.9	117,619	52.7	6,769	3.0	931	0.4	4,317	1.9	223,086
Rejected											2,304
Total Vote Cast											225,390

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (10)
Ind. Lib. = 4,317 1

Table 7-9 New Brunswick—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	5,756	47.4	6,393	52.6							12,149
Gloucester	9,502	42.1	13,052	57.9							22,554
Kent	4,682	42.2	6,424	57.8							11,106
Northumberland—Miramichi	6,635	36.1	8,582	46.7					3,159	17.2	18,376
Restigouche—Madawaska	15,774	54.7	13,037	45.3							28,811
Royal	10,051	59.0	6,977	41.0							17,028
St. John—Albert	21,983	53.6	19,047	46.4							41,030
Victoria—Carleton	9,843	58.2	6,115	36.2			944	5.6			16,902
Westmorland	16,478	42.0	19,873	50.7	1,373	3.5	1,476	3.8			39,200
York—Sunbury	13,356	49.5	13,018	48.2	628	2.3					27,002
Province Totals	114,060	48.7	112,518	48.1	2,001	0.9	2,420	1.0	3,159	1.3	234,158
Rejected											2,839
Total Vote Cast											236,997

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (10)
Ind. = 3,159 1

Table 7–10 New Brunswick—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	6,448	52.6	5,806	47.4							12,254
Gloucester	11,705	47.2	13,112	52.8							24,817
Kent	4,988	44.9	6,118	55.1							11,106
Northumberland–Miramichi	9,257	47.6	10,206	52.4							19,463
Restigouche–Madawaska	17,221	56.2	12,909	42.1			538	1.8			30,668
Royal	10,483	59.9	7,031	40.1							17,514
St. John–Albert	27,049	63.9	13,917	32.9	1,394	3.3					42,360
Victoria–Carleton	10,692	60.0	6,483	36.4			651	3.7			17,826
Westmorland	20,149	48.3	18,597	44.5	2,478	5.9	522	1.3			41,746
York–Sunbury	15,943	53.6	13,118	44.1	669	2.3					29,730
Province Totals	133,935	54.1	107,297	43.4	4,541	1.8	1,711	0.7			247,484
Rejected											2,222
Total Vote Cast											249,706

Table 7–11 New Brunswick—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	5,518	45.7	6,159	51.0	396	3.3					12,073
Gloucester	10,174	42.9	13,519	57.1							23,693
Kent	4,366	40.5	5,514	51.1			464	4.3	441	4.1	10,785
Northumberland–Miramichi	7,020	37.3	9,899	52.6	1,150	6.1	750	4.0			18,819
Restigouche–Madawaska	12,992	43.9	13,525	45.7	1,256	4.2	1,794	6.1			29,567
Royal	9,805	53.0	7,414	40.1	762	4.1	504	2.7			18,485
Saint John–Albert	22,586	51.8	16,790	38.5	2,641	6.1	1,608	3.7			43,625
Victoria–Carleton	10,439	57.3	6,235	34.2			1,547	8.5			18,221
Westmorland	17,818	41.6	18,334	42.8	5,848	13.7	836	2.0			42,836
York–Sunbury	15,255	48.6	13,461	42.9	1,167	3.7	1,513	4.8			31,396
Province Totals	115,973	46.5	110,850	44.4	13,220	5.3	9,016	3.6	441	0.2	249,500
Rejected											2,553
Total Vote Cast											252,053

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (10)
Ind. Lib. = 441 1

Table 7-12 New Brunswick—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	5,284	44.6	6,279	53.0	118	1.0	159	1.3			11,840
Gloucester	4,515	19.4	13,344	57.5			5,365	23.1			23,224
Kent	3,095	31.0	5,971	59.7	226	2.3	705	7.1			9,997
Northumberland—Miramichi	6,305	35.1	10,148	56.6	844	4.7	646	3.6			17,943
Restigouche—Madawaska	5,400	18.7	14,111	49.0			9,306	32.3			28,817
Royal	9,524	53.5	7,314	41.1	426	2.4	539	3.0			17,803
Saint John—Albert	21,584	51.7	16,669	39.9	1,869	4.5	1,606	3.8			41,728
Victoria—Carleton	10,572	59.0	6,533	36.5			811	4.5			17,916
Westmorland	16,356	39.4	19,989	48.1	4,415	10.6	771	1.9			41,531
York—Sunbury	15,827	48.5	14,678	45.0	1,001	3.1	1,142	3.5			32,648
Province Totals	98,462	40.4	115,036	47.3	8,899	3.7	21,050	8.6			243,447
Rejected											2,110
Total Vote Cast											245,557

Table 7-13 New Brunswick—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Charlotte	5,226	45.2	5,879	50.8	462	4.0					11,567
Gloucester	6,351	27.3	14,121	60.6	2,826	12.1					23,298
Kent	2,306	24.2	5,713	59.9	1,512	15.9					9,531
Northumberland—Miramichi	6,529	35.3	9,564	51.6	2,424	13.1					18,517
Restigouche—Madawaska	10,163	37.0	15,211	55.4	1,017	3.7			1,081	3.9	27,472
Royal	9,865	55.4	6,619	37.2	1,324	7.4					17,808
Saint John—Albert	21,909	51.4	15,609	36.6	5,081	11.9					42,599
Victoria—Carleton	9,462	57.3	6,388	38.7	298	1.8	352	2.1			16,500
Westmorland	15,090	36.1	20,768	49.7	5,943	14.2					41,801
York—Sunbury	15,813	48.5	14,909	45.7	1,872	5.7					32,594
Province Totals	102,714	42.5	114,781	47.5	22,759	9.4	352	0.1	1,081	0.4	241,687
Rejected											2,497
Total Vote Cast											244,184

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (10)
RC = 1,081 1

Table 7-14 New Brunswick—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Carleton—Charlotte	15,469	62.8	8,330	33.8	848	3.4					24,647
Fundy—Royal	17,013	61.3	9,435	34.0	1,316	4.7					27,764
Gloucester	8,960	40.4	12,196	55.0	1,007	4.5					22,163
Madawaska—Victoria	9,541	48.1	9,924	50.0	379	1.9					19,844
Moncton	17,969	50.1	15,013	41.9	2,332	6.5			553	1.5	35,867
Northumberland—Miramichi	7,853	40.4	10,292	53.0	1,290	6.6					19,435
Restigouche	7,049	36.0	9,991	51.1	748	3.8			1,769	9.0	19,557
Saint John—Lancaster	15,756	53.1	12,160	41.0	1,508	5.1			268	0.9	29,692
Westmorland—Kent	8,265	38.3	11,519	53.3	1,821	8.4					21,605
York—Sunbury	17,394	55.4	12,983	41.3	1,028	3.3					31,405
Province Totals	125,269	49.7	111,843	44.4	12,277	4.9			2,590	1.0	251,979
Rejected											2,737
Total Vote Cast											254,716

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (10)
RC	= 1,769	1
Ind.	= 553	1
Ind. PC	= 268	1

Table 7-15 New Brunswick—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Carleton—Charlotte	14,431	60.2	7,715	32.2	1,831	7.6					23,977
Fundy—Royal	19,107	60.5	9,343	29.6	2,186	6.9	937	3.0			31,573
Gloucester	6,914	24.6	14,212	50.6	521	1.9	4,487	16.0	1,948	6.9	28,082
Madawaska—Victoria	8,822	37.2	13,104	55.3			1,763	7.4			23,689
Moncton	22,657	52.6	17,124	39.8	2,003	4.7	1,273	3.0			43,057
Northumberland—Miramichi	9,007	39.0	10,922	47.3	2,419	10.5	765	3.3			23,113
Restigouche	5,698	23.8	11,650	48.7	1,110	4.6	5,450	22.8			23,908
Saint John—Lancaster	16,350	53.9	12,783	42.2	788	2.6	394	1.3			30,315
Westmorland—Kent	8,107	30.8	14,747	56.0	2,104	8.0	1,381	5.2			26,339
York—Sunbury	20,362	53.0	14,335	37.3	3,741	9.7					38,438
Province Totals	131,455	44.9	125,935	43.1	16,703	5.7	16,450	5.6	1,948	0.7	292,491
Rejected											5,673
Total Vote Cast											298,164

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (10)
None	= 1,109	1
Ind.	= 839	1

Table 7-16 New Brunswick—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Carleton—Charlotte	12,315	50.5	9,681	39.7	2,387	9.8					24,383
Fundy—Royal	13,631	43.4	10,845	34.5	4,337	13.8			2,628	8.4	31,441
Gloucester	6,571	23.1	16,195	57.1	1,685	5.9	3,935	13.9			28,386
Madawaska—Victoria	7,023	31.6	14,310	64.3	906	4.1					22,239
Moncton	6,456	14.3	16,199	35.9	1,501	3.3	343	0.8	20,671	45.8	45,170
Northumberland—Miramichi	8,661	36.1	12,648	52.7	2,297	9.6	405	1.7			24,011
Restigouche	4,695	20.9	12,492	55.5	2,262	10.1	3,053	13.6			22,502
Saint John—Lancaster	11,419	41.0	12,860	46.2	3,457	12.4			118	0.4	27,854
Westmorland—Kent	6,490	24.8	16,340	62.3	2,710	10.3	671	2.6			26,211
York—Sunbury	17,673	50.3	14,153	40.3	3,327	9.5					35,153
Province Totals	94,934	33.0	135,723	47.2	24,869	8.7	8,407	2.9	23,417	8.1	287,350
Rejected											2,142
Total Vote Vast											289,492

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (10)
Ind. = 23,299 2
M.-L. = 118 1

Table 7-17 New Brunswick—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Carleton—Charlotte	16,603	55.6	9,308	31.1	3,971	13.3					29,882
Fundy—Royal	19,135	47.3	13,589	33.6	7,746	19.1					40,470
Gloucester	13,872	38.9	18,387	51.6	3,366	9.4					35,625
Madawaska—Victoria	8,171	31.9	15,851	61.8	1,620	6.3					25,642
Moncton	18,446	38.2	20,940	43.3	8,936	18.5					48,322
Northumberland—Miramichi	9,467	35.0	12,893	47.7	4,653	17.2					27,013
Restigouche	7,009	26.4	14,840	55.9	4,718	17.8					26,567
Saint John—Lancaster	13,989	41.6	13,316	39.6	6,358	18.9					33,663
Westmorland—Kent	6,584	21.3	19,695	63.8	4,609	14.9					30,888
York—Sunbury	21,722	55.0	11,815	29.9	5,665	14.4			258	0.7	39,460
Province Totals	134,998	40.0	150,634	44.6	51,642	15.3			258	0.1	337,532
Rejected											2,028
Total Vote Cast											339,560

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (10)
Ind. = 258 1

Table 7–18 New Brunswick—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Carleton—Charlotte	14,565	48.0	11,091	36.6	4,680	15.4			407	1.3	30,743
Fundy—Royal	16,805	41.3	15,197	37.4	8,668	21.3			480	1.2	41,150
Gloucester	6,846	19.7	22,229	64.0	4,484	12.9			1,354	3.9	34,913
Madawaska—Victoria	5,979	22.9	17,190	65.8	2,943	11.3					26,112
Moncton	16,277	35.0	22,365	48.1	7,791	16.8			197	0.4	46,630
Northumberland—Miramichi	7,517	27.8	14,799	54.8	4,694	17.4					27,010
Restigouche	5,119	19.1	16,560	61.7	4,457	16.6			899	3.3	27,035
Saint John	12,363	39.0	13,122	41.4	5,978	18.9			204	0.6	31,667
Westmorland—Kent	5,339	16.6	21,625	67.1	5,255	16.3					32,219
York—Sunbury	18,246	47.7	14,138	37.0	5,567	14.6			300	0.8	38,251
Province Totals	109,056	32.5	168,316	50.1	54,517	16.2			3,841	1.1	335,730
Rejected											1,814
Total Vote Cast											337,544

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (10)
Rhino = 1,790	2
None = 1,437	5
Ind. = 308	2
Libert. = 161	2
M.-L. = 145	3

Table 7–19 New Brunswick—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Carleton—Charlotte	19,864	61.6	7,752	24.1	4,608	14.3					32,224
Fundy—Royal	26,021	56.6	11,482	25.0	8,487	18.5					45,990
Gloucester	23,524	55.1	16,378	38.4	2,188	5.1			584	1.4	42,674
Madawaska—Victoria	16,411	51.9	13,245	41.9	1,968	6.2					31,624
Moncton	29,936	57.2	14,557	27.8	7,629	14.6			243	0.5	52,365
Northumberland—Miramichi	17,134	53.9	11,971	37.7	2,660	8.4					31,765
Restigouche	14,089	45.6	12,250	39.7	4,526	14.7					30,865
Saint John	16,604	52.2	8,109	25.5	6,752	21.2	102	0.3	242	0.8	31,809
Westmorland—Kent	13,371	38.0	14,709	41.8	7,148	20.3					35,228
York—Sunbury	25,190	58.8	9,873	23.1	7,366	17.2			377	0.9	42,806
Province Totals	202,144	53.6	120,326	31.9	53,332	14.1	102	0.0	1,446	0.4	377,350
Rejected											2,500
Total Vote Cast											379,850

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (10)
Ind. = 1,204	3
Libert. = 242	1

Table 7-20 New Brunswick—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Beausejour	10,525	27.2	22,650	58.6	3,958	10.2			1,511	3.9	38,644
Carleton-Charlotte	16,026	47.2	14,116	41.6	2,596	7.7			1,183	3.5	33,921
Fredericton	20,494	43.0	18,939	39.7	4,922	10.3			3,325	7.0	47,680
Fundy-Royal	21,129	46.7	16,411	36.3	4,965	11.0			2,756	6.1	45,261
Gloucester	16,721	42.7	20,251	51.7	2,163	5.5					39,135
Madawaska-Victoria	14,747	48.2	13,385	43.8	2,441	8.0					30,573
Miramichi	8,983	32.4	14,073	50.8	1,686	6.1			2,954	10.7	27,696
Moncton	17,273	34.0	23,815	46.9	4,904	9.7			4,787	9.4	50,779
Restigouche	12,366	40.0	15,252	49.4	3,272	10.6					30,890
Saint John	16,798	43.1	15,068	38.6	4,883	12.5			2,257	5.8	39,006
Province Totals	155,062	40.4	173,960	45.4	35,790	9.3			18,773	4.9	383,585
Rejected											2,624
Total Vote Cast											386,209

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (10)
CRWP = 16,669	7
CHP = 909	1
Ind. = 415	2
Rhino = 316	1
Libert. = 289	1
None = 175	1

Table 7-21 New Brunswick Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1987

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
June 27, 1935	5	10.4	229,690	40.2	43	89.6	340,621	59.6				
November 20, 1939	19	39.6	243,607	45.0	29	60.4	296,838	54.8			712	0
August 28, 1944	11	22.9	233,371	40.0	37	77.1	282,397	48.4			68,248	11
June 28, 1948	5	9.6	179,690	31.2	47	90.4	332,321	57.8			34,415	6
September 22, 1952	36	69.2	369,919	48.9	16	30.8	372,140	49.2			9,490	1
June 18, 1956	37	71.2	391,775	52.2	15	28.8	346,021	46.1				
June 27, 1960	21	40.4	362,171	46.2	31	59.6	418,043	53.4				
April 22, 1963	20	38.5	367,673	48.2	32	61.5	395,543	51.8				
October 23, 1967	26	44.8	354,070	47.1	32	55.2	396,354	52.7			1,247	0
October 26, 1970	32	55.2	354,441	48.5	26	44.8	354,944	48.5			20,383	2
November 18, 1974	33	56.9	145,304	46.9	25	43.1	147,272	47.5			9,092	2
October 23, 1978	30	51.7	146,808	44.4	28	48.3	146,507	44.3			21,403	6
October 12, 1982	39	67.2	182,467	47.4	18	31.0	158,840	41.3	1	1.7	39,211	10
October 13, 1987			116,798	28.6	58	100.0	246,702	60.4			43,083	10
Totals and Means	314	41.8		43.9	437	58.1		51.1	1	0.1		3

¹CCF through 1960.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						1,482	0.3	48	571,793
						562	0.1	48	541,719
								48	584,016
		3,134	1.0			25,500	4.4	52	575,060
						4,858	0.6	52	756,407
		11,828	3.1			726	0.1	52	750,350
						3,185	0.4	52	783,399
						7	0	52	763,223
								58	751,671
						1,762	0.2	58	731,530
						8,322	2.7	58	309,990
						15,774	4.8	58	330,492
						4,039	1.1	58	384,557
						1,933	0.5	58	408,516
			0.3				1.1	752	

Historically, Quebec has been the most Liberal of the provinces in its voting for federal elections. On the other hand, it can be described as a two-party system at both the federal and provincial levels, while demonstrating certain characteristics which also make it the most multiparty of the provinces. This is seemingly a paradox, but in many respects it is fair to say that Quebec's politics, complicated as they are, are by far the most paradoxical in Canada.

Examining federal election returns, one factor stands out, and that is the Liberals' near-total domination until the two most recent elections. This is no recent phenomenon, either. As Verney puts it:

From the days of Laurier, the Liberals had always maintained a close association with Quebec sentiment. With Laurier as leader from 1887 to 1919 the Liberals had become firmly entrenched in Quebec, the Conservatives being labeled the party of *les anglais*.¹

Clearly, the national Liberals must rely on good majorities in Quebec if they wish to control Commons, especially given their weakness in the prairie provinces. Yet, if a test for two-partyism is the ability of the second party to win some offices, and to have a reasonable chance to win at least occasional majorities, then Quebec qualifies as a two-party province. Only in the 1958 and 1984 national landslides as well as in the 1988 election for the Progressive Conservatives did Quebec select a majority of Tory Members of Parliament. One of the lessons is apparently that when Quebec goes for the Progressive Conservatives, it does so by overwhelming majorities, providing at least two-thirds of its seats to the Tories. And, it must be pointed out, the 1984 and 1988 elections

featured native-son Brian Mulroney, a fluent French-speaking leader of his national party. With those three exceptions of the 17 elections studied, the Liberals have typically had majorities which could readily be described as dominating. So much is this the case that, even including the 1958, 1984, and 1988 elections, the Liberals have been able to average 51.5 percent of the popular vote, almost twice that received by the Progressive Conservatives.

What is even more remarkable about this performance by the Liberals in Quebec is that the province is a lively arena for third parties. The CCF/NDP has been unable to win any seats, averaging about 5 percent of the popular vote, but has shown some increased strength in recent elections, especially in 1988 when it received 14 percent. Social Credit and its 1965 and 1968 splinter, *Ralliement Creditiste*, together won 101 seats and averaged 9.5 percent of the vote, far better than in any province except for Alberta, the home of Social Credit. And, Quebec has been the most successful province for Independents and candidates representing other parties, as they have won 33 seats and averaged 7.1 percent of the vote.

The extent to which Quebec has been basically a Liberal stronghold is indicated by the fact that the Liberals win an overwhelming majority of seats in most elections. Hence, the findings regarding electoral margins take on even more significance. More so than any other province, elections are decided in Quebec by margins of 25 percent or more. The one major exception to this was in 1958, when Quebec joined the rest of the nation in providing a majority to the Progressive Conservatives. And, even though Quebec went for the Tories, their margins were considerably less than those which the Liberals

normally command. The Diefenbaker victory marked the only year in which a majority of seats in Quebec were decided by margins of 10 percent or less. Following this, possibly reflecting support for native son Pierre Trudeau, the proportion of seats decided by the wide margin of 25 percent or more increased steadily through 1980. For that matter, in the Mulroney election of 1984, in which the Tories won all of the seats decided by 25 percent or more, the Liberals won only 17 seats in the province, of which 5 were by margins in excess of 10 percent. The conclusions to be drawn from these data are evident. It would seem that Quebec voters are solidly Liberal, are more so when one of their own leads the national party, and can swing to the Tories with a major national tide. It would also seem that the province may be prone to giving wide margins of victory, as suggested by those won by Trudeau's Liberals and Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives. As we noted above, Independent and "other" party candidates have found fertile soil in Quebec, quite unlike any other province. Candidates elected at various times have included the following:

Independent Liberals (1935—5); (1940—3);
 (1945—1); (1953—2); (1957—2);
 Independents (1945—6); (1949—3); (1953—3);
 (1957—2); (1965—1); (1972—1)
 Bloc Populaire Canadien (1945—2)
 Labor Progressive (1945—1)
 Independent Progressive Conservative
 (1965—1)

Quebec is also the home of a third "party" which had attracted some notoriety in its brief existence, 1965–88, the Rhino or Rhinoceros Party. More a spoof of government and politics than a real party, it advocated such "programs" as paying the national debt with a credit card and nationalizing one of Canada's hockey stars. Nonetheless, it attracted 2.4 percent of the provincial and 0.79 percent of the national vote in 1984, with 90 candidates.

Of special interest in this regard is the large number of total candidates in every election, clearly reflecting the presence of "other party"

candidates. The proportion of total candidates to seats has been as low as 2.6 : 1 (1940) and as high as 6.8 : 1 (1979). These proportions may be taken as indicative of a number of factors such as alienation or increased ballot access, but they are notably higher in Quebec than in any other province.

The data also present a picture which is quite unlike that for any other province. For one, granting that the Conservatives were a weakened national party in the earlier years of the era we are examining, their absolute decline in Quebec from 1935 to 1940 to 1945 is unmatched elsewhere. Further, they failed to run candidates in every riding until 1958 and thereafter. The CCF/NDP has historically been quite weak in the province. This is also reflected in that only in 1979, 1984, and 1988 did it contest every seat, while it has yet to win any. In 1988, receiving 14 percent of the popular vote, the NDP reached their highest level of popular support.

While 1962 and 1965 are the only years in which they contested every seat, Social Credit and *Ralliement Creditiste* have been unusually strong in the province, winning seats in every election from 1962 through 1979.² One might wonder at the appeal of such a movement to the Quebecois, since it had had its inception in the 1930s in far more anglophone Alberta. The answer apparently lies partly in its use in Quebec of appeals which stressed alienation (as it did in Alberta), but from different objects: *les anglois*, the anglophone owners and managers of industry in rural areas.³ Stressing a nationalistic identity for Quebec, it could appeal to some of the same feelings which later emerged in the *Parti Quebecois*.⁴ It would appear that the movement is all but dead, however. In 1984 the 23 Social Credit candidates together attracted less than 1 percent of the vote and the 6 candidates in 1988 did even worse.

At the provincial level the picture is more muddled, largely because of the presence of a great many third parties appearing at different times and exercising some unusual drawing power. Hence, table 8–21 differs from the otherwise similar summary tables for other provinces by specifying a "significant minor party"

in place of Social Credit. Oddly, this latter party, which once did rather well in Quebec's federal elections, has accounted for very little in its provincial elections. Only in 1970 (12 seats) 1973 (2 seats), and 1976 (1 seat) did this party, running as the *Ralliement Creditiste*, make any significant showing.

Despite the frequent appearances of third parties, Lemieux has stated that, until the 1970 election, two-party politics was "the most constant characteristic" of Quebec's provincial politics.⁵ Dyck describes the situation as one of "a series of two-party systems."⁶ On the basis of the 1970 elections, when the *Creditistes* won their 12 seats and the *Parti Quebecois* won 7, it would seem that "the two-party system has come to an end," according to Lemieux.⁷ Yet, so shifting are Quebec's politics that it may also be safe to say that a different party system, perhaps two-party, has since begun to emerge.⁸

A brief introduction may help to clarify the emergence and disappearance of the various parties. Long-dominant, the Liberals saw a dissident wing, the *Action Liberal Nationale*, emerge in 1935. This splinter group merged with the Conservatives under the banner of the *Union Nationale* in 1936, an alliance which was to last until 1960. Nonetheless, the A.L.N. ran 57 candidates in 1939, 5 more than it had in 1935. Following a poor showing, it disappeared. Hence, the two-party system referred to earlier involved the Liberals and the Conservatives, the latter running under the banner of the *Union Nationale* from 1936 on. However, the U.N. has clearly fallen on hard times, winning no seats in 1973, 11 in 1976, and none in 1981 and 1985. In this last election they gathered well under 1 percent of the total vote.

The U.N. was a significant enough coalition that it garnered a majority of the vote in four elections (1936, 1948, 1952, 1956) and was able to control a majority of seats following these four plus 1944 and 1966. The Liberals, on the other hand, have won popular majorities five times (1939, 1960, 1962, 1973, 1985) and a majority of seats following these five plus 1935 and 1970. Hence, in what might otherwise appear to be a confused situation, the two major parties,

under whatever name, have held outright majorities in the Quebec National Assembly 12 out of 15 times. On this basis alone, it would seem that Quebec has, within our time frame, qualified as a two-party system.

The extent to which it may be changing is problematical. Given the virtual disappearance of the *Union Nationale* in recent elections, it would seem that the *Parti Quebecois* has taken its place. The case for this is strengthened when we note that the P.Q. won outright majorities in two (1976, 1981) of the five elections it contested. However, following the retirement of Premier René Levesque in 1985, the P.Q. won only 23 seats in a campaign in which it downplayed the issue of separatism. The Liberals were able to win a commanding 56 percent of the popular vote and took the remaining 99 seats. The continuation of Quebec as a provincial two-party system would therefore seem to depend on whether the P.Q. can make a comeback. Lacking this, given the tumultuous nature of Quebec's politics, it would seem likely that one or more parties would fill the void.

(see tables 8–1 through 8–21)

Notes

1. Douglas V. Verney, *Three Civilization, Two Cultures, One State: Canada's Political Traditions* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1986), p. 312.
2. See Michael B. Stein, *The Dynamics of Right-Wing Protest: A Political Analysis of Social Credit in Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).
3. J. Murray Beck, *Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 344–45.
4. This is not to suggest that the voters for P.Q. were simply co-opted into P.O., as we cannot make such an inference from aggregate data. Rather, we simply point out that some of the appeals by each party were identical.
5. Vincent Lemieux, "Quebec: Heaven Is Blue and Hell Is Red," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces*, 2d ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 248.
6. Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), p. 241.
7. Lemieux, op. cit., p. 248.
8. For an analysis of Quebec's recently shifting provincial party systems, see Stephen H. Ullman, "Political Development and Party Change in Quebec, 1980–1983," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 13 (Summer 1983), pp. 29–41.

Table 8-1 Quebec—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935-1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	5	7.7	322,794	28.2	55	84.6	623,591	54.4			7,326	0.6
1940	1	1.5	231,824	19.8	61	93.8	741,945	63.3			7,610	0.6
1945	2	3.1	118,933	8.4	53	81.5	717,776	50.8			33,450	2.1
1949	2	2.7	392,530	24.6	68	93.2	961,974	60.4			17,767	1.1
1953	4	5.3	454,052	29.4	66	88.0	944,071	61.0			23,833	1.5
1957	9	12.0	557,356	31.1	62	82.7	1,030,354	57.6			31,780	1.8
1958	50	66.7	1,003,276	49.6	25	33.3	924,090	45.7			45,594	2.3
1962	14	18.7	617,762	29.6	35	46.7	818,760	39.2			91,795	4.4
1963	8	10.7	413,562	19.5	47	62.7	966,172	45.6			151,061	7.1
1965	8	10.7	432,901	21.2	56	74.7	928,530	45.6			244,339	12.0
1968	4	5.4	466,492	21.4	56	75.7	1,170,417	53.6			164,466	7.5
1972	2	2.7	457,418	17.4	56	75.7	1,289,139	49.1			168,910	6.4
1974	3	4.1	520,632	21.2	60	81.1	1,330,337	54.1			162,080	6.6
1979	2	2.7	432,199	13.5	67	89.3	1,975,526	61.7			163,492	5.1
1980	1	1.3	373,317	12.6	74	98.7	2,017,156	68.2			268,409	9.1
1984	58	77.3	1,728,196	50.2	17	22.7	1,219,124	35.4			301,928	8.8
1988	63	84.0	1,841,311	52.7	12	16.0	1,057,876	30.3			487,971	14.0
Totals and Means	236	19.0		26.5	870	70.2		51.5				5.4

¹CCF through 1958.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 8-2 Quebec—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP ⁶				Social Credit ⁷				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Chang- ing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	65	62	4		20	64	35	17		3								84	4	1		213	21
1940	65	53		1	5	65	51	10	4	4				2				46	3	5		170	14
1945	65	29		2	1	64	47	3	13	29				43				118	2	11	2	283	16
1949 ²	73	69		2	2	73	48	12	2	20				50				41	1	1	11	253	15
1953 ³	75	71	1	3	1	75	59	1	5	29								53	3	2		228	6
1957	75	69	2	7	2	75	57	5	9	22				4				43	1	3	4	213	15
1958	75	75	9	41		75	22	3	40	29				15				25			4	219	44
1962	75	75	14		36	75	16	19	9	40				75	26			81				346	45
1963	75	75	8		6	75	33	14	2	60				75	17	3	9	10				295	17
1965	75	75	4	4	4	75	45	11	2	71				75	9	11		27		2		323	17
1968 ⁴	74	74	3	1	1	74	31	5	7	70				70	5	6	2	28			2	316	12
1972	74	74	2		2	74	55	1	1	62				70	13	2	1	34		1		314	4
1974	74	74	2	1		74	56	4		72				68	11		4	76			1	364	5
1979 ⁵	75	75	2		1	75	51	6	1	75				74	5	1	5	212				511	7
1980	75	75	1		1	75	67	7		73				55		6		207				485	7
1984	75	75	1	57		75	17		57	75				23				203				451	57
1988 ⁶	75	75	51	5		75	5		5	75				6				149				380	5
Totals	1,240	1,175	104	124	82	1,238	695	118	157	809				705	60	38	38	1,437	7	27	30	5,364	307

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 60 seats which are comparable to the previous election; ²64 seats; ³369 seats; ⁴451 seats; ⁵65 seats; ⁶61 seats. ⁷Includes, for 1965 and 1968, Ralliement Creditiste.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
				5	7.7	192,765	16.8	65	1,146,476
		10,781	0.9	3	4.6	179,337	15.3	65	1,171,497
		63,310	4.5	10	15.4	480,700	34.0	65	1,414,169
		80,990	5.1	3	4.1	140,039	8.8	73	1,593,300
				5	6.7	124,817	8.1	75	1,546,773
		3,877	0.2	4	5.3	166,693	9.3	75	1,790,060
		12,858	0.6			38,431	1.9	75	2,024,249
26	34.7	542,433	26.0			19,173	0.9	75	2,089,923
20	26.7	578,347	27.3			8,903	0.4	75	2,118,045
9	12.0	357,153	17.5	2	2.7	74,389	3.7	75	2,037,312
14	18.9	358,327	16.4			24,590	1.1	74	2,184,292
15	20.3	639,207	24.4	1	1.4	70,362	2.7	74	2,625,036
11	14.9	420,018	17.1			25,608	1.0	74	2,458,675
6	8.0	512,995	16.0			119,817	3.7	75	3,204,029
		174,583	5.9			123,577	4.2	75	2,957,042
		6,633	0.2			184,479	5.4	75	3,440,360
		2,070	0.1			107,183	3.1	75	3,496,411
101	8.2		9.5	33	2.7		7.1	1,240	

Table 8-3 Quebec—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
1935	9	9	8	7	4	28	65
1940	3	8	2	6	7	39	65
1945	8	7	9	9	5	27	65
1949	11	3	4	10	4	41	73
1953	7	8	5	8	5	42	75
1957	17	8	8	7	5	30	75
1958	22	23	11	12	7		75
1962	13	14	13	13	10	12	75
1963	16	14	7	10	4	24	75
1965	10	11	11	6	8	29	75
1968	9	16	9	3	5	32	74
1972	10	7	4	7	13	33	74
1974	5	8	5	6	8	42	74
1979	5	3	5		2	60	75
1980	1	3	3	2		66	75
1984	13	13	11	8	10	20	75
1988	9	6	6	10	5	39	75
Totals	168	161	121	124	102	564	1,240
Means	13.5	13.0	9.8	10.0	8.2	45.5	

Table 8-4 Quebec—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil	4,467	49.8	4,290	47.9					207	2.3	8,964
Beauce			15,263	89.0					1,896	11.0	17,159
Beauharnois—Laprairie	3,954	28.2	10,052	71.8							14,006
Bellechasse	1,720	18.7	7,470	81.3							9,190
Berthier—Maskinonge	5,022	32.5	8,459	54.7					1,978	12.8	15,459
Bonaventure	5,935	41.1	8,498	58.9							14,433
Brome—Missisquoi	7,024	46.7	8,007	53.3							15,031
Chambly—Rouville	6,370	35.1	9,555	52.6					2,228	12.3	18,153
Champlain	7,343	47.3	8,172	52.7							15,515
Chapleau	2,462	27.3	3,082	34.2					3,465	38.5	9,009
Charlevoix—Saguenay	5,591	30.2	12,144	65.5					808	4.4	18,543
Chateauguay—Huntingdon	4,947	44.8	6,101	55.2							11,048
Chicoutimi	7,719	37.7	9,685	47.3					3,063	15.0	20,467
Compton	6,374	46.3	7,388	53.7							13,762
Dorchester	5,098	48.8	5,186	49.7					154	1.5	10,438
Drummond—Arthabaska	7,411	32.8	14,125	62.5					1,067	4.7	22,603
Gaspé	3,195	18.1	11,773	66.8					2,657	15.1	17,625
Hull	2,894	13.8	9,370	44.8					8,634	41.3	20,898
Joliette—L'Assomption— Montcalm	1,640	9.3	14,087	79.6					1,966	11.1	17,693
Kamouraska	3,332	32.1	6,841	65.9					206	2.0	10,379
Labelle			7,280	57.4					5,411	42.6	12,691
Lake St. John—Roberval	9,069	46.5	9,231	47.3					1,205	6.2	19,505
Laval—Two Mountains	4,987	43.2	6,551	56.8							11,538
Levis	3,770	29.9	8,488	67.2					370	2.9	12,628
Lotbinière	5,373	35.5	9,768	64.5							15,141
Matapédia—Matane	4,834	33.8	4,476	31.3					4,987	34.9	14,297
Mégantic—Frontenac	1,460	9.0	8,619	53.4					6,064	37.6	16,143
Montmagny—L'Islet	4,611	39.4	6,826	58.3					271	2.3	11,708
Nicolet—Yamaska	6,770	41.2	9,542	58.1					108	0.7	16,420
Pontiac	4,409	24.1	5,626	30.8					8,227	45.0	18,262
Portneuf	5,155	33.3	5,981	38.6					4,345	28.1	15,481
Quebec East	9,611	38.2	15,557	61.8							25,168
Quebec South	6,663	37.2	11,270	62.8							17,933
Quebec West and South	8,720	45.4	10,466	54.6							19,186
Quebec—Montmorency	8,064	47.0	9,084	53.0							17,148
Richelieu—Vercheres	3,402	23.6	11,022	76.4							14,424
Richmond—Wolfe	5,034	34.0	6,278	42.4					3,483	23.5	14,795
Rimouski	4,495	31.1	9,238	63.9					732	5.1	14,465
St. Hyacinthe—Bagot	3,268	20.5	11,547	72.4					1,138	7.1	15,953
St. Johns—Iberville— Napierville	1,359	12.6	9,422	87.4							10,781
St. Maurice—Lafleche	3,332	19.8	5,505	32.8					7,952	47.4	16,789
Shefford	6,502	48.4	6,925	51.6							13,427
Sherbrooke	8,029	45.0	9,806	55.0							17,835
Stanstead	5,553	47.6	5,676	48.7					434	3.7	11,663

Table 8-4 (Continued)

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Temiscouata	4,565	30.2	10,177	67.3					391	2.6	15,133
Terrebonne	4,141	27.2	9,900	65.1					1,172	7.7	15,213
Three Rivers	5,748	28.3	5,070	24.9					9,506	46.8	20,324
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	2,519	28.7	5,983	68.1					279	3.2	8,781
Wright	2,540	23.9	5,945	56.1					2,121	20.0	10,606
Totals	236,481	31.8	420,807	56.6					86,525	11.6	743,813
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier	945	4.5	13,574	65.3					6,278	30.2	20,797
Hochelaga	3,524	11.7	19,506	64.6					7,164	23.7	30,194
Jacques-Cartier	6,796	42.5	7,309	45.7					1,872	11.7	15,977
Laurier	4,913	17.9	12,998	47.5					9,472	34.6	27,383
Maisonnette-Rosemont	7,539	29.3	10,807	42.1					7,353	28.6	25,699
Mercier	2,496	10.3	17,231	70.8					4,615	19.0	24,342
Mount Royal	16,203	49.4	11,967	36.5	1,473	4.5			3,125	9.5	32,768
Outremont	7,040	34.9	11,260	55.9					1,844	9.2	20,144
St. Ann	2,145	13.7	3,818	24.4					9,654	61.8	15,617
St. Antoine-Westmount	12,905	58.9	7,222	32.9					1,799	8.2	21,926
St. Denis	1,519	5.0	19,047	62.7					9,830	32.3	30,396
St. Henri	4,871	16.6	21,561	73.5					2,885	9.8	29,317
St. James	2,953	8.0	22,298	60.5	1,147	3.1			10,483	28.4	36,881
St. Lawrence-St. George	6,862	49.0	5,695	40.6					1,461	10.4	14,018
St. Mary			18,479	57.3					13,747	42.7	32,226
Verdun	5,602	22.4			4,706	18.8			14,715	58.8	25,023
Totals	86,313	21.4	202,772	50.4	7,326	1.8			106,297	26.4	402,708
Province Totals	322,794	28.2	623,579	54.4	7,326	0.6			192,822	16.8	1,146,521
Rejected											16,341
Total Vote Cast											1,162,862

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (65)	Elected
Reconstn.	= 100,119 ¹	42	
Ind.Lib.	= 70,889	21	5
Labor	= 6,919	4	
Verdun	= 4,214	1	
Comm.	= 3,385	1	
Ind.Con.	= 2,348	4	
Ind.	= 2,170	4	
Ind.Recon.	= 1,772	2	
Lib.-Lab.	= 929	4	
Vetns.	= 79	1	

¹The detailed riding analysis for Reconstruction can be found in Scarrow (1962).

Table 8–5 Quebec—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil	3,763	40.1	5,629	59.9							9,392
Beauce	3,142	20.1	12,482	79.9							15,624
Beauharnois–Laprairie	3,471	23.6	11,244	76.4							14,715
Bellechasse	2,366	26.4	6,585	73.6							8,951
Berthier–Maskinonge	3,323	24.7	10,119	75.3							13,442
Bonaventure	5,741	37.8	9,446	62.2							15,187
Brome–Missisquoi	2,647	24.2	8,302	75.8							10,949
Chambly–Rouville	5,761	31.5	11,964	65.4					567	3.1	18,292
Champlain	5,090	34.8	9,546	65.2							14,636
Chapleau	3,073	24.6	9,402	75.4							12,475
Charlevoix–Saguenay	5,928	29.3	14,336	70.7							20,264
Chateauguay–Huntingdon	2,047	26.2	5,773	73.8							7,820
Chicoutimi	8,330	37.2	8,693	38.8					5,390	24.0	22,413
Compton	1,623	16.8	8,012	83.2							9,635
Dorchester			5,573	54.1					4,721	45.9	10,294
Drummond–Arthabaska			12,145	52.8					10,853	47.2	22,998
Gaspé	8,371	39.9	8,162	38.9					4,437	21.2	20,970
Hull			11,253	50.6			7,083	31.8	3,916	17.6	22,252
Joliette–L'Assomption– Montcalm	3,430	19.6	14,112	80.4							17,542
Kamouraska	2,099	23.2	6,965	76.8							9,064
Labelle			8,797	59.8					5,909	40.2	14,706
Lac-St.-Jean–Roberval	6,895	32.3	10,057	47.1			3,698	17.3	717	3.4	21,367
Laval–Deux-Montagnes			4,552	41.6					6,378	58.4	10,930
Levis	4,187	32.0	8,885	68.0							13,072
Lotbinière			8,983	66.0					4,627	34.0	13,610
Matapédia–Matane	5,804	36.8	9,956	63.2							15,760
Mégantic–Frontenac	6,281	37.5	10,477	62.5							16,758
Montmagny–L'Islet	3,288	32.3	6,890	67.7							10,178
Nicolet–Yamaska	410	2.7	6,865	45.9					7,677	51.3	14,952
Pontiac	5,128	16.9	13,206	43.6					11,941	39.4	30,275
Portneuf	2,141	14.4	10,033	67.6					2,676	18.0	14,850
Quebec-Est			17,914	59.3					12,302	40.7	30,216
Quebec-Sud	4,284	22.0	15,196	78.0							19,480
Quebec-Ouest-et-Sud	8,003	40.0	12,010	60.0							20,013
Quebec–Montmorency	5,175	28.7	12,850	71.3							18,025
Richelieu–Vercheres	2,412	17.0	11,330	79.9					447	3.2	14,189
Richmond–Wolfe	4,295	33.4	8,554	66.6							12,849
Rimouski			9,766	62.2					5,928	37.8	15,694
St-Hyacinthe–Bagot			13,220	83.6					2,599	16.4	15,819
St-Jean–Iberville– Napierville	2,331	14.5	7,439	46.3					6,307	39.2	16,077
St. Maurice–Lafleche	1,957	10.1	9,440	48.9					7,922	41.0	19,319
Shefford	3,644	31.8	7,831	68.2							11,475
Sherbrooke	5,465	29.1	11,602	61.8					1,697	9.0	18,764
Stanstead			5,112	51.6					4,804	48.4	9,916

Table 8-5 (Continued)

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Temiscouata	2,063	15.6	9,615	72.9					1,518	11.5	13,196
Terrebonne	2,668	15.3	6,938	39.8					7,839	44.9	17,445
Trois-Rivieres			9,860	53.0					8,734	47.0	18,594
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	2,210	24.3	4,381	48.2					2,500	27.5	9,091
Wright	2,310	21.5	7,260	67.6					1,172	10.9	10,742
Totals	151,156	19.8	468,762	61.3			10,781	1.4	133,578	17.5	764,277
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier			18,191	88.5					2,354	11.5	20,545
Hochelaga	4,049	12.9	16,849	53.8					10,402	33.2	31,300
Jacques-Cartier	4,028	25.5	11,755	74.5							15,783
Laurier	4,072	16.2	21,069	83.8							25,141
Maisonneuve-Rosemont	6,387	26.8	17,442	73.2							23,829
Mercier	4,596	19.4	19,134	80.6							23,730
Mount Royal	13,319	37.9	19,858	56.5	1,983	5.6					35,160
Outremont	4,556	20.8	14,511	66.4					2,787	12.8	21,854
St. Ann	2,806	17.3	12,687	78.3					707	4.4	16,200
St. Antoine-Westmont	8,972	37.6	14,879	62.4							23,851
St-Denis	4,979	17.1	18,948	65.0					5,241	18.0	29,168
St-Henri	2,081	6.8	17,531	57.2					11,013	36.0	30,625
St-Jacques	5,777	16.5	27,219	77.9	1,091	3.1			864	2.5	34,951
St. Lawrence-St. George	6,568	36.2	11,553	63.8							18,121
Ste.-Marie	4,785	16.3	23,185	78.8	719	2.4			728	2.5	29,417
Verdun	3,693	13.4	8,372	30.4	3,817	13.9			11,663	42.3	27,545
Totals	80,668	19.8	273,183	67.1	7,610	1.9			45,759	11.2	407,220
Province Totals	231,824	19.8	741,945	63.3	7,610	0.6	10,781	0.9	179,337	15.3	1,171,497
Rejected											17,992
Total Vote Cast											1,189,489

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (65)	Elected
Ind. Lib.	= 128,498	29	3
Ind.	= 22,909	7	
Ind. Nat.	= 12,302	1	
Ind. A.-Con.	= 5,928	1	
Lab.	= 3,916	1	
Nat. Lab.	= 2,354	1	
Ind. Con.	= 2,060	4	
Comm.	= 728	1	
Anti-Con.	= 642	1	

Table 8-6 Quebec—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil	5,349	49.3	5,221	48.2			270	2.5			10,840
Beauce			9,612	42.6			5,701	25.3	7,264	32.2	22,577
Beauharnois—Laprairie	1,779	7.8	10,378	45.4					10,716	46.8	22,873
Bellechasse			6,928	66.2					3,540	33.8	10,468
Berthier—Maskinonge	562	3.2	10,604	59.6					6,639	37.3	17,805
Bonaventure	1,046	6.7	6,605	42.5					7,885	50.8	15,536
Brome—Missisquoi	4,169	27.0	7,860	50.9	246	1.6			3,157	20.5	15,432
Chambly—Rouville			12,723	50.4	1,041	4.1			11,491	45.5	25,255
Champlain	1,880	12.0	8,332	53.2			1,139	7.3	4,298	27.5	15,649
Chapleau			6,230	43.1			3,878	26.9	4,333	30.0	14,441
Charlevoix—Saguenay			9,197	39.6			1,151	5.0	12,866	55.4	23,214
Chateauguay—Huntingdon	2,804	24.6	4,770	41.8			101	0.9	3,737	32.7	11,412
Chicoutimi			8,027	24.0	371	1.1	2,713	8.1	22,293	66.7	33,404
Compton	3,506	23.9	8,007	54.5	486	3.3	1,065	7.3	1,622	11.0	14,686
Dorchester			5,149	45.6			1,843	16.3	4,291	38.0	11,283
Drummond—Arthabaska			14,805	49.7			1,037	3.5	13,970	46.9	29,812
Gaspe			11,596	51.7	368	1.6			10,473	46.7	22,437
Hull			15,012	59.2	596	2.4	478	1.9	9,258	36.5	25,344
Joliette—L'Assomption— Montcalm	318	1.1	14,810	52.4			161	0.6	12,953	45.9	28,242
Kamouraska			6,829	56.0			1,361	11.2	3,999	32.8	12,189
Labelle			7,969	53.2			1,228	8.2	5,769	38.5	14,966
Lac-St-Jean—Roberval			9,744	39.9			1,134	4.6	13,572	55.5	24,450
Laval—Deux-Montagnes			6,577	48.9					6,876	51.1	13,453
Levis			10,098	70.5			4,233	29.5			14,331
Lotbiniere			10,122	63.5					5,813	36.5	15,935
Matapedia—Matane			8,500	47.5					9,402	52.5	17,902
Megantic—Frontenac			10,057	52.5			2,106	11.0	7,008	36.6	19,171
Montmagny—L'Islet			7,327	60.7			1,721	14.3	3,028	25.1	12,076
Nicolet—Yamaska	944	6.1	6,658	42.7					7,973	51.2	15,575
Pontiac	6,136	19.1	13,325	41.4	2,453	7.6	5,852	18.2	4,433	13.8	32,199
Portneuf			8,994	52.6			1,094	6.4	7,021	41.0	17,109
Quebec-Est			17,965	59.8	231	0.8	2,816	9.4	9,049	30.1	30,061
Quebec-Sud			14,091	70.6			931	4.7	4,943	24.8	19,965
Quebec-Ouest-et-Sud			10,541	52.5	236	1.2	3,876	19.3	5,414	27.0	20,067
Quebec—Montmorency			11,561	51.6			5,211	23.2	5,642	25.2	22,414
Richelieu—Vercheres							945	5.6	15,953	94.4	16,898
Richmond—Wolfe			8,459	53.0			1,147	7.2	6,359	39.8	15,965
Rimouski			10,730	54.6			834	4.2	8,084	41.1	19,648
St-Hyacinthe—Bagot	346	1.6	12,781	58.3			258	1.2	8,522	38.9	21,907
St-Jean—Iberville— Napierville			10,866	64.9					5,875	35.1	16,741
St-Maurice—Lafleche			9,323	38.6			681	2.8	14,131	58.5	24,135
Shefford			7,413	46.8			578	3.6	7,858	49.6	15,849
Sherbrooke	6,158	26.0	9,552	40.4	283	1.2	1,118	4.7	6,537	27.6	23,648
Stanstead	5,028	36.8	3,545	26.0	169	1.2	365	2.7	4,553	33.3	13,660

Table 8-6 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Temiscouata	1,102	8.3	10,325	77.4			1,907	14.3			13,334
Terrebonne			15,383	66.6	281	1.2			7,417	32.1	23,081
Trois-Rivieres	4,173	20.2	2,525	12.2	186	0.9	787	3.8	12,980	62.9	20,651
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	1,880	18.9	6,267	62.9	191	1.9			1,619	16.3	9,957
Wright	2,634	22.5	6,460	55.2	1,067	9.1			1,545	13.2	11,706
Totals	49,814	5.4	449,853	48.9	8,205	0.9	59,720	6.5	352,161	38.3	919,753
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier			8,935	35.0					16,561	65.0	25,496
Hochelaga	2,208	6.1	22,444	62.2	692	1.9	533	1.5	10,179	28.2	36,056
Jacques-Cartier	8,421	32.3	12,640	48.5	1,866	7.2			3,147	12.1	26,074
Laurier	1,910	6.1	22,520	71.5	1,924	6.1			5,145	16.3	31,499
Maisonneuve-Rosemont	5,320	17.9	13,556	45.5	1,268	4.3	464	1.6	9,155	30.8	29,763
Mercier	2,269	7.1	18,623	58.6	541	1.7	417	1.3	9,920	31.2	31,770
Mount-Royal	17,798	39.8	20,925	46.8	3,608	8.1			2,417	5.4	44,748
Outremont			14,836	56.0	1,639	6.2			9,998	37.8	26,473
St-Ann	2,381	15.1	11,007	69.9	1,375	8.7	224	1.4	751	4.8	15,738
St. Antoine-Westmount	13,588	46.2	13,648	46.4	1,982	6.7			200	0.7	29,418
St-Denis			21,201	59.0			534	1.5	14,206	39.5	35,941
St-Henri	1,902	6.0	19,137	60.5	941	3.0	334	1.1	9,300	29.4	31,614
St-Jacques			23,970	58.1	619	1.5	549	1.3	16,085	39.0	41,223
St. Lawrence-St. George	6,171	30.5	10,301	50.9	1,454	7.2			2,327	11.5	20,253
Ste-Marie			18,237	54.4	369	1.1	348	1.0	14,582	43.5	33,536
Verdun	7,151	20.4	15,943	45.5	6,967	19.9	187	0.5	4,766	13.6	35,014
Totals	69,119	14.0	267,923	54.2	25,245	5.1	3,590	0.7	128,739	26.0	494,616
Province Totals	118,933	8.4	717,776	50.7	33,450	2.4	63,310	4.5	480,900	34.0	1,414,369
Rejected											19,422
Total Vote Cast											1,433,791

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (65)	Elected
Ind.	= 257,665	59	6
BPC	= 184,372	35	2
Ind. Lib.	= 21,283	12	1
Lab. Prog.	= 14,532	5	1
Ind. P.C.	= 1,622	2	
Lab.	= 532	2	
Ind. CCF	= 279	1	
Lib. Lab.	= 345	1	
Farmer	= 70	1	

Table 8–7 Quebec—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil–Deux-Montagnes	9,672	46.8	10,500	50.8			481	2.3			20,653
Beauce			10,045	45.3			1,840	8.3	10,267	46.3	22,152
Beauharnois	4,547	27.4	11,631	70.2			397	2.4			16,575
Bellechasse	41	0.3	7,395	58.8			332	2.6	4,798	38.2	12,566
Berthier–Maskinonge	8,242	41.2	11,770	58.8							20,012
Bonaventure	6,776	39.8	9,802	57.6					437	2.6	17,015
Brome–Missisquoi	6,266	39.7	8,831	56.0	279	1.8	402	2.5			15,778
Chambly–Rouville	11,362	33.9	20,946	62.5	733	2.2			449	1.3	33,490
Champlain	7,719	36.6	11,663	55.4			747	3.5	940	4.5	21,069
Chapleau	1,822	9.4	11,304	58.1			6,318	32.5			19,444
Charlevoix	1,608	9.6	9,543	57.1			940	5.6	4,619	27.6	16,710
Chateauguay–Huntingdon– Laprairie	7,028	41.3	9,986	58.7							17,014
Chicoutimi			9,763	44.8			1,757	8.1	10,252	47.1	21,772
Compton–Frontenac	5,327	30.2	10,764	61.0			1,555	8.8			17,646
Dorchester	6,762	45.8	6,983	47.3			1,020	6.9			14,765
Drummond–Arthabaska	1,804	7.9	16,899	73.6			4,251	18.5			22,954
Gaspé	9,650	43.4	12,567	56.6							22,217
Gatineau	4,448	29.6	9,865	65.7			697	4.6			15,010
Hull	7,060	25.1	18,446	65.5	771	2.7	1,871	6.6			28,148
Iles-de-la-Madeleine	2,145	49.3	2,203	50.7							4,348
Joliette–L'Assomption– Montcalm	13,584	41.5	18,755	57.4			361	1.1			32,700
Kamouraska	1,437	13.2	7,792	71.3			1,696	15.5			10,925
Labelle	8,701	48.4	7,998	44.5			1,289	7.2			17,988
Lac-Saint-Jean	138	1.1	7,084	54.3			824	6.3	4,994	38.3	13,040
Lapointe			10,275	49.4			4,730	22.7	5,797	27.9	20,802
Levis	72	0.4	11,752	60.8			655	3.4	6,851	35.4	19,330
Lotbinière	72	0.5	8,849	56.6			288	1.8	6,430	41.1	15,639
Matapédia–Matane	9,811	42.7	11,546	50.3			678	3.0	926	4.0	22,961
Mégantic	6,791	29.9	13,273	58.4	415	1.8	2,230	9.8			22,709
Montmagny–L'Islet	2,380	18.1	10,004	75.9			793	6.0			13,177
Nicolet–Yamaska	9,680	48.7	10,208	51.3							19,888
Pontiac–Temiscamingue	5,149	28.7	7,817	43.6	362	2.0	1,562	8.7	3,041	17.0	17,931
Portneuf	6,069	32.7	10,932	58.8			1,579	8.5			18,580
Quebec-Est	7,876	22.4	25,832	73.6			1,395	4.0			35,103
Quebec-Ouest	6,946	30.4	12,391	54.2	180	0.8	1,714	7.5	1,620	7.1	22,851
Quebec-Sud	6,454	24.5	19,383	73.5			542	2.1			26,379
Quebec–Montmorency	7,071	27.5	16,829	65.4			1,849	7.2			25,749
Richelieu–Verchères	419	2.2	12,795	66.5			429	2.2	5,590	29.1	19,233
Richmond–Wolfe	3,990	19.8	13,621	67.8			2,493	12.4			20,104
Rimouski	7,389	30.5	11,708	48.4			1,491	6.2	3,614	14.9	24,202
Roberval			8,103	49.7			2,135	13.1	6,078	37.3	16,316
Saint-Hyacinthe–Bagot	1,105	6.6	14,702	87.6			981	5.8			16,788
Saint-Jean–Iberville– Napierville	343	1.9	12,823	71.0			417	2.3	4,478	24.8	18,061
Saint-Maurice–Lafleche	347	1.2	13,898	49.7			2,064	7.4	11,646	41.7	27,955

Table 8-7 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saguenay	5,651	44.7	6,113	48.3					889	7.0	12,653
Shefford	8,017	36.6	12,993	59.3			906	4.1			21,916
Sherbrooke	6,522	26.5	12,116	49.2	217	0.9	2,728	11.1	3,060	12.4	24,643
Stanstead	7,251	43.2	7,736	46.1			1,358	8.1	433	2.6	16,778
Temiscouata	2,250	13.5	11,648	69.9			2,756	16.5			16,654
Terrebonne	8,107	29.6	18,304	66.9			953	3.5			27,364
Trois-Rivieres	10,015	39.0	9,964	38.8			432	1.7	5,292	20.6	25,703
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	3,659	32.4	7,622	67.6							11,281
Villeneuve	958	3.7	13,597	52.4			10,980	42.3	393	1.5	25,928
Totals	260,533	24.6	619,369	58.4	2,957	0.3	74,916	7.1	102,894	9.7	1,060,669
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier	2,636	11.6	11,993	52.8	3,238	14.2			4,868	21.4	22,735
Hochelaga	6,930	26.5	17,633	67.4			1,615	6.2			26,178
Jacques-Cartier	7,794	31.1	15,298	61.0	2,007	8.0					25,099
Lafontaine	331	1.3	12,883	51.8	217	0.9			11,419	46.0	24,850
Laurier	1,735	8.3	15,578	74.4	782	3.7			2,845	13.6	20,940
Laval	9,888	35.2	18,202	64.8							28,090
Maisonneuve-Rosemont	8,804	28.8	20,512	67.2			1,207	4.0			30,523
Mercier	7,786	29.5	17,041	64.5			1,587	6.0			26,414
Mont-Royal	11,550	34.0	21,654	63.8	719	2.1					33,923
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	10,293	33.4	19,469	63.2	1,054	3.4					30,816
Outremont-St-Jean	5,030	23.7	16,215	76.3							21,245
Papineau	587	2.2	12,536	47.7	541	2.1			12,611	48.0	26,275
Ste-Anne	443	2.2	14,528	72.2	457	2.3			4,707	23.4	20,135
St-Antoine-Westmount	11,299	34.6	21,399	65.4							32,698
St-Denis	9,509	32.6	18,866	64.7	776	2.7					29,151
St-Henri	7,369	29.4	16,313	65.0	909	3.6	500	2.0			25,091
St-Jacques	9,349	32.5	18,705	65.0			720	2.5			28,774
St-Laurent-St-Georges	5,911	26.7	15,104	68.2	1,146	5.2					22,161
Ste-Marie	6,963	32.1	13,773	63.5	352	1.6			612	2.8	21,700
Verdun-La Salle	7,790	21.7	24,903	69.5	2,612	7.3	445	1.2	83	0.2	35,833
Totals	131,997	24.8	342,605	64.3	14,810	2.8	6,074	1.1	37,145	7.0	532,631
Province Totals	392,530	24.6	961,974	60.4	17,767	1.1	80,990	5.1	140,039	8.8	1,593,300
Rejected											17,210
Total Vote Cast											1,610,510

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (73)	Elected
Ind.	= 99,219	17	3
Ind. Lib.	= 18,959	13	
Nat. Un.	= 5,590	1	
Lab. Prog.	= 5,078	2	
Ind. PC	= 4,997	3	
Nat'list.	= 4,994	1	
Lib. Lab.	= 433	1	
Soc. Just.	= 367	1	
Repub.	= 294	1	
Labor	= 108	1	

Table 8—8 Quebec—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes	5,608	29.7	13,283	70.3							18,891
Beauce			9,716	42.7					13,016	57.3	22,732
Beauharnois—Salaberry	4,495	24.0	14,269	76.0							18,764
Bellechasse	4,866	40.6	7,124	59.4							11,990
Berthier—Maskinonge— Delanaudiere	441	2.3	10,709	56.8					7,710	40.9	18,860
Bonaventure	6,446	41.3	9,177	58.7							15,623
Brome—Missisquoi	4,252	28.8	9,362	63.3	1,168	7.9					14,782
Chambly—Rouville	5,016	33.8	9,824	66.2							14,840
Champlain	8,324	36.6	14,420	63.4							22,744
Chapleau	6,280	29.8	10,495	49.8					4,305	20.4	21,080
Charlevoix	7,259	40.3	10,742	59.7							18,001
Chateauguay—Huntingdon— Laprairie	7,003	38.7	11,104	61.3							18,107
Chicoutimi			8,408	34.4					16,046	65.6	24,454
Compton—Frontenac	6,530	38.1	10,365	60.4	261	1.5					17,156
Dorchester	7,762	50.3	7,656	49.7							15,418
Drummond—Arthabaska	13,325	45.6	15,870	54.4							29,195
Gaspé	10,832	46.9	12,058	52.2					199	0.9	23,089
Gatineau	4,932	30.2	10,759	65.8	662	4.0					16,353
Hull	6,239	21.5	21,785	75.1	707	2.4			266	0.9	28,997
Iles de la Madeleine	1,937	45.3	2,337	54.7							4,274
Joliette—L'Assomption— Montcalm	4,541	20.0	18,149	80.0							22,690
Kamouraska	229	1.9	5,534	46.8					6,065	51.3	11,828
Labelle	8,610	46.7	9,569	51.9	90	0.5			176	1.0	18,445
Lac-Saint-Jean	6,756	43.7	8,697	56.3							15,453
Lapointe	1,640	7.4	8,708	39.2					11,854	53.4	22,202
Levis	5,305	27.5	13,897	72.1					74	0.4	19,276
Longueuil	4,912	19.9	16,688	67.6	2,742	11.1			352	1.4	24,694
Lotbinière	6,879	43.2	9,047	56.8							15,926
Matapédia—Matane	10,765	45.9	12,689	54.1							23,454
Mégantic	8,420	37.6	13,951	62.4							22,371
Montmagny—L'Islet	4,876	32.5	10,121	67.5							14,997
Nicolet—Yamaska	2,396	12.4	9,483	49.2					7,397	38.4	19,276
Pontiac—Témiscamingue	6,373	41.3	9,041	58.7							15,414
Portneuf	5,479	30.1	12,701	69.9							18,180
Quebec-Est	5,841	17.7	25,945	78.7					1,188	3.6	32,974
Quebec-Ouest	8,464	36.8	4,612	20.0					9,944	43.2	23,020
Quebec Sud	6,363	25.1	18,950	74.9							25,313
Quebec—Montmorency	12,272	40.5	18,029	59.5							30,301
Richelieu—Vercheres	3,282	17.3	15,406	81.4	246	1.3					18,934
Richmond—Wolfe	7,254	35.6	13,006	63.8					133	0.7	20,393
Rimouski	8,201	34.3	8,554	35.8					7,146	29.9	23,901
Roberval	8,477	49.5	8,646	50.5							17,123
Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot			acclamation								
Saint-Jean—Iberville— Napierville	2,001	10.9	16,088	87.8	238	1.3					18,327

Table 8-8 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saint-Maurice-Lafleche	10,337	35.6	18,662	64.4							28,999
Saguenay	7,464	48.9	7,815	51.1							15,279
Shefford	7,219	31.9	15,409	68.1							22,628
Sherbrooke	8,085	33.8	15,827	66.2							23,912
Stanstead	6,736	40.2	10,034	59.8							16,770
Temiscouata	6,624	35.9	10,675	57.9					1,152	6.2	18,451
Terrebonne			acclamation								
Trois-Rivieres	15,556	52.8	13,905	47.2							29,461
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	2,254	21.0	8,463	79.0							10,717
Villeneuve	7,015	30.5	14,851	64.7					1,097	4.8	22,963
Totals	322,173	31.0	622,615	59.9	6,114	0.6			88,120	8.5	1,039,022
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier	1,068	6.6	12,493	76.9	980	6.0			1,705	10.5	16,246
Dollard	7,320	31.5	14,964	64.4	579	2.5			363	1.6	23,226
Hochelaga	3,921	15.4	19,467	76.3	1,245	4.9			885	3.5	25,518
Jacques-Cartier-Lasalle	9,208	27.8	19,678	59.5	2,879	8.7			1,333	4.0	33,098
Lafontaine	3,438	16.8	15,285	74.8	1,311	6.4			392	1.9	20,426
Laurier	4,642	25.7	12,648	70.1	376	2.1			364	2.0	18,030
Laval	7,309	26.8	19,337	70.9	645	2.4					27,291
Maisonnette-Rosemont	5,671	19.4	12,266	41.9	1,056	3.6			10,260	35.1	29,253
Mercier	9,352	33.1	17,479	61.9	885	3.1			513	1.8	28,229
Mont-Royal	9,460	33.9	17,183	61.7	500	1.8			727	2.6	27,870
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	16,690	49.9	15,567	46.6	1,184	3.5					33,441
Outremont-Saint-Jean	4,216	25.1	11,536	68.8	436	2.6			586	3.5	16,774
Papineau	4,966	18.5	10,094	37.6	514	1.9			11,300	42.0	26,874
Sainte-Anne	1,768	9.5	15,519	83.8	385	2.1			858	4.6	18,530
Saint-Antoine-Westmount	9,863	39.0	14,441	57.1	504	2.0			469	1.9	25,277
Saint-Denis	6,118	25.2	17,359	71.6	573	2.4			209	0.9	24,259
Saint-Henri	4,659	19.7	15,046	63.6	538	2.3			3,411	14.4	23,654
Saint-Jacques	5,274	22.5	15,443	65.9	545	2.3			2,170	9.3	23,432
Saint-Laurent-Saint-Georges	4,648	31.8	9,082	62.2	444	3.0			428	2.9	14,602
Sainte-Marie	5,033	22.8	16,288	73.7	553	2.5			241	1.1	22,115
Verdun	7,255	24.5	20,281	68.5	1,587	5.4			483	1.6	29,606
Totals	131,879	26.0	321,456	63.3	17,719	3.5			36,697	7.2	507,751
Province Totals	454,052	29.4	944,071	61.0	23,833	1.5			124,817	8.1	1,546,773
Rejected											18,627
Total Vote Cast											1,565,400

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (75)	Elected
Ind. Lib.	= 58,001	17	2
Ind.	= 46,532	6	3
Lab. Prog.	= 10,819	25	
Nat'l list.	= 7,496	1	
Ind. PC	= 1,636	3	
Anti-Comm.	= 333	1	

Table 8–9 Quebec—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil–Deux-Montagnes	8,902	37.0	10,084	41.9					5,085	21.1	24,071
Beauce			11,559	48.3					12,384	51.7	23,943
Beauharnois–Salaberry	3,109	14.5	14,030	65.6					4,246	19.9	21,385
Bellechasse	1,792	16.4	7,960	72.9					1,165	10.7	10,917
Berthier–Maskinonge– Delanaudiere	9,049	46.5	10,418	53.5							19,467
Bonaventure	8,161	50.8	7,903	49.2							16,064
Brome–Missisquoi	8,605	48.2	9,255	51.8							17,860
Chambly–Rouville	5,858	31.9	11,302	61.5					1,227	6.7	18,387
Champlain	9,988	42.0	13,767	58.0							23,755
Chapleau	11,065	49.2	11,428	50.8							22,493
Charlevoix	7,532	41.4	10,182	56.0			246	1.4	213	1.2	18,173
Chateauguay–Huntingdon– Laprairie	6,907	35.8	10,066	52.1					2,346	12.1	19,319
Chicoutimi			15,124	52.4					13,733	47.6	28,857
Compton–Frontenac	8,270	46.1	9,328	52.0	340	1.9					17,938
Dorchester	7,702	48.9	8,054	51.1							15,756
Drummond–Arthabaska	10,327	32.0	10,512	32.5					11,462	35.5	32,301
Gaspé	10,916	49.0	10,848	48.7					504	2.3	22,268
Gatineau	5,522	30.1	10,770	58.8					2,028	11.1	18,320
Hull	4,922	14.1	15,551	44.7			2,363	6.8	11,981	34.4	34,817
Iles-de-la-Madeleine			2,472	53.2					2,176	46.8	4,648
Joliette–L'Assomption– Montcalm	4,409	18.5	19,445	81.5							23,854
Kamouraska			5,988	48.0					6,489	52.0	12,477
Labelle	9,406	53.9	8,045	46.1							17,451
Lac-Saint-Jean	6,374	38.6	10,129	61.4							16,503
Lapointe			13,671	52.5					12,363	47.5	26,034
Levis	5,770	28.2	14,693	71.8							20,463
Longueuil	10,942	33.4	19,314	58.9	1,768	5.4			782	2.4	32,806
Lotbiniere	8,372	51.7	7,823	48.3							16,195
Matapédia–Matane	10,889	48.3	11,642	51.7							22,531
Megantic	8,300	35.1	15,378	64.9							23,678
Montmagny–L'Islet			9,772	59.6					6,637	40.4	16,409
Nicolet–Yamaska	9,805	51.3	9,292	48.7							19,097
Pontiac–Temiscamingue	7,878	47.7	8,642	52.3							16,520
Portneuf	8,102	41.7	11,328	58.3							19,430
Quebec-Est	9,900	26.1	27,364	72.0			739	1.9			38,003
Quebec-Ouest	10,981	44.2	11,828	47.6			529	2.1	1,520	6.1	24,858
Quebec-Sud	9,659	33.7	17,709	61.9					1,252	4.4	28,620
Quebec–Montmorency	14,121	36.1	24,964	63.9							39,085
Richelieu–Vercheres	749	3.8	16,003	81.7					2,830	14.5	19,582
Richmond–Wolfe	7,243	32.8	10,300	46.7					4,508	20.4	22,051
Rimouski	9,754	40.0	14,642	60.0							24,396
Roberval	7,236	40.0	10,860	60.0							18,096
Saint-Hyacinthe–Bagot	13,865	54.1	11,771	45.9							25,636

Table 8-9 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saint-Jean-Iberville--											
Napierville	378	1.5	13,427	52.3					11,859	46.2	25,664
Saint-Maurice-Lafleche	7,686	24.4	18,714	59.4	4,369	13.9			751	2.4	31,520
Saguenay	8,191	41.8	11,408	58.2							19,599
Shefford	8,760	37.0	14,897	63.0							23,657
Sherbrooke	9,791	37.5	16,324	62.5							26,115
Stanstead	7,424	43.0	9,827	57.0							17,251
Temiscouata	8,094	41.2	11,558	58.8							19,652
Terrebonne	12,973	39.9	19,515	60.1							32,488
Trois-Rivieres	15,004	50.6	14,412	48.6					237	0.8	29,653
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	4,166	31.5	9,055	68.5							13,221
Villeneuve	6,034	23.2	9,893	38.0	1,947	7.5			8,129	31.3	26,003
Totals	390,883	32.6	670,246	55.9	8,424	0.7	3,877	0.3	125,907	10.5	1,199,337
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier	1,909	11.6	11,955	72.9	677	4.1			1,854	11.3	16,395
Dollard	7,813	24.5	21,917	68.6	2,197	6.9					31,927
Hochelaga	4,063	15.0	20,611	75.9	796	2.9			1,675	6.2	27,145
Jacques-Cartier-Lasalle	23,378	48.2	23,235	47.9	1,939	4.0					48,552
Lafontaine	4,593	21.7	15,501	73.2	1,095	5.2					21,189
Laurier	5,321	29.6	11,336	63.0	270	1.5			1,054	5.9	17,981
Laval	5,525	12.8	26,254	60.6	1,205	2.8			10,333	23.9	43,317
Maisonneuve-Rosemont	7,718	21.8	25,041	70.7	2,670	7.5					35,429
Mercier	10,093	25.2	30,024	74.8							40,117
Mont Royal	13,861	35.9	23,330	60.4	1,420	3.7					38,611
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	24,517	56.9	17,551	40.7	1,049	2.4					43,117
Outremont-Saint-Jean	3,899	20.5	13,840	72.7	1,299	6.8					19,038
Papineau	4,177	13.4	24,373	78.4	2,556	8.2					31,106
Sainte-Anne	2,807	17.8	4,254	27.0					8,673	55.1	15,734
Saint-Antoine-Westmount	11,802	44.9	14,485	55.1							26,287
Saint-Denis	4,587	18.4	17,027	68.3	999	4.0			2,329	9.3	24,942
Saint-Henri	2,766	10.9	12,489	49.1	963	3.8			9,207	36.2	25,425
Saint-Jacques	5,347	27.7	7,900	41.0	730	3.8			5,301	27.5	19,278
Saint-Laurent-Saint-Georges	6,219	42.1	7,758	52.5	440	3.0			360	2.4	14,777
Sainte-Marie	7,041	34.6	12,532	61.7	752	3.7					20,325
Verdun	9,037	30.1	18,695	62.3	2,299	7.7					30,031
Totals	166,473	28.2	360,108	61.0	23,356	4.0			40,786	6.9	590,723
Province Totals	557,356	31.1	1,030,354	57.6	31,780	1.8	3,877	0.2	166,693	9.3	1,790,060
Rejected											23,481
Total Vote Cast											1,813,541

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (75)	Elected
Ind. Lib. = 85,674	24	2
Ind. = 73,628	11	2
Ind. PC = 4,777	4	
Lab. Prog. = 2,377	3	
Cap. Fam. = 237	1	

Table 8–10 Quebec—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes	14,483	56.6	10,493	41.0					626	2.4	25,602
Beauce	4,217	17.1	10,417	42.3					9,984	40.6	24,618
Beauharnois—Salaberry	13,202	51.6	12,368	48.4							25,570
Bellechasse	6,861	52.3	6,255	47.7							13,116
Berthier—Maskinonge— Delanaudiere	12,702	59.2	8,738	40.8							21,440
Bonaventure	9,135	54.1	7,741	45.9							16,876
Brome—Missisquoi	11,361	61.6	7,093	38.4							18,454
Chambly—Rouville	10,546	49.9	10,224	48.4			366	1.7			21,136
Champlain	13,537	50.3	13,374	49.7							26,911
Chapleau	14,705	59.5	9,764	39.5					243	1.0	24,712
Charlevoix	12,315	60.9	7,918	39.1							20,233
Chateauguay—Huntingdon— Laprairie	12,365	56.6	9,472	43.4							21,837
Chicoutimi	15,407	50.6	12,348	40.6	2,666	8.8					30,421
Compton—Frontenac	9,383	51.9	8,349	46.2	331	1.8					18,063
Dorchester	8,766	55.2	7,111	44.8							15,877
Drummond—Arthabaska	16,522	47.0	17,288	49.2			1,308	3.7			35,118
Gaspe	14,535	58.6	9,994	40.3	282	1.1					24,811
Gatineau	9,004	43.5	10,840	52.3			878	4.2			20,722
Hull	12,869	35.9	20,132	56.2			2,484	6.9	348	1.0	35,833
Iles-de-la-Madeleine	2,471	52.2	2,115	44.7					146	3.1	4,732
Joliette—L'Assomption— Montcalm	21,821	58.5	15,454	41.5							37,275
Kamouraska	7,691	52.9	6,847	47.1							14,538
Labelle	10,606	58.1	7,660	41.9							18,266
Lac-Saint-Jean	8,255	46.6	7,353	41.5	2,120	12.0					17,728
Lapointe	9,864	34.0	12,113	41.7	7,042	24.3					29,019
Levis	9,164	42.5	12,410	57.5							21,574
Longueuil	18,637	49.8	16,238	43.4	2,529	6.8					37,404
Lotbiniere	9,610	59.9	6,432	40.1							16,042
Matapedia—Matane	14,969	58.9	10,433	41.1							25,402
Megantic	13,030	48.7	13,486	50.4					246	0.9	26,762
Montmagny—L'Islet	7,963	47.8	8,689	52.2							16,652
Nicolet—Yamaska	11,880	62.2	7,219	37.8							19,099
Pontiac—Temiscamingue	8,842	51.2	8,431	48.8							17,273
Portneuf	11,386	53.2	10,031	46.8							21,417
Quebec-Est	22,285	49.5	21,649	48.1			1,104	2.5			45,038
Quebec-Ouest	14,223	51.5	12,357	44.7			1,054	3.8			27,634
Quebec-Sud	15,771	50.4	15,507	49.6							31,278
Quebec—Montmorency	25,394	55.1	19,610	42.5			1,109	2.4			46,113
Richelieu—Vercheres	11,005	44.9	13,497	55.1							24,502
Richmond—Wolfe	11,984	50.3	11,299	47.4			560	2.3			23,843
Rimouski	16,426	57.7	11,503	40.4			534	1.9			28,463
Roberval	10,696	53.9	9,130	46.1							19,826
Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot	15,761	58.9	10,857	40.5					157	0.6	26,775
Saint-Jean—Iberville— Napierville	12,100	45.8	14,332	54.2							26,432

Table 8-10 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saint-Maurice-Lafleche	14,405	41.4	18,556	53.3	1,863	5.3					34,824
Saguenay	13,194	53.8	11,330	46.2							24,524
Shefford	12,211	47.1	13,001	50.1	739	2.8					25,951
Sherbrooke	15,383	51.0	14,458	47.9			349	1.2			30,190
Stanstead	10,363	56.0	7,638	41.3					489	2.6	18,490
Temiscouata	13,361	57.7	9,810	42.3							23,171
Terrebonne	19,319	51.4	18,241	48.6							37,560
Trois-Rivieres	18,049	59.7	11,193	37.1					968	3.2	30,210
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	8,161	52.9	7,274	47.1							15,435
Villeneuve	9,811	34.0	10,102	35.0	662	2.3			8,276	28.7	28,851
Totals	678,006	50.8	606,174	45.5	18,234	1.4	9,746	0.7	21,483	1.6	1,333,643
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier	6,850	42.3	7,097	43.8	713	4.4			1,528	9.4	16,188
Dollard	16,677	43.6	18,760	49.1	1,742	4.6	1,063	2.8			38,242
Hochelaga	12,845	40.5	16,706	52.7	1,294	4.1			883	2.8	31,728
Jacques-Cartier-Lasalle	30,908	52.8	24,233	41.4	3,364	5.7					58,505
Lafontaine	10,299	43.4	12,195	51.3	979	4.1			276	1.2	23,749
Laurier	8,915	45.1	10,125	51.2	741	3.7					19,781
Laval	26,076	47.5	25,363	46.2	2,165	3.9			1,272	2.3	54,876
Maisonnette-Rosemont	19,479	45.0	21,515	49.7	2,276	5.3					43,270
Mercier	26,463	50.4	23,103	44.0	2,219	4.2			687	1.3	52,472
Mont-Royal	21,562	47.3	22,051	48.4	1,952	4.3					45,565
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	27,145	60.5	16,172	36.1	1,526	3.4					44,843
Outremont-Saint-Jean	8,906	38.9	12,715	55.6	1,249	5.5					22,870
Papineau	14,468	41.5	18,466	52.9	1,328	3.8			632	1.8	34,894
Sainte-Anne	5,941	37.4	8,289	52.2	394	2.5			1,256	7.9	15,880
Saint-Antoine-Westmount	15,882	53.5	12,941	43.6	684	2.3	192	0.6			29,699
Saint-Denis	12,166	42.4	14,737	51.4			879	3.1	917	3.2	28,699
Saint-Henri	10,196	34.7	11,533	39.3	691	2.4	714	2.4	6,218	21.2	29,352
Saint-Jacques	12,798	51.9	10,517	42.7	670	2.7			666	2.7	24,651
Saint-Laurent-Saint-Georges	9,702	55.0	7,132	40.4	534	3.0			279	1.6	17,647
Sainte-Marie	11,635	52.0	9,662	43.2	634	2.8			433	1.9	22,364
Verdun	16,357	46.3	14,604	41.3	2,205	6.2	264	0.7	1,901	5.4	35,331
Totals	325,270	47.1	317,916	46.0	27,360	4.0	3,112	0.5	16,948	2.5	690,606
Province Totals	1,003,276	49.6	924,090	45.7	45,594	2.3	12,858	0.6	38,431	1.9	2,024,249
Rejected											20,950
Total Vote Cast											2,045,199

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (75)

Ind.	=	12,794	5
Ind. Lib.	=	11,791	9
Elector's	=	8,276	1
Ind. PC	=	1,844	4
Lab. Prog.	=	1,162	2
Cap. Fam.	=	968	1
Rad. Chr.	=	687	1
Soc.	=	666	1
Can. Lab.	=	243	1

Table 8–11 Quebec—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes	10,589	38.1	11,761	42.3			4,095	14.7	1,331	4.8	27,776
Beauce	901	3.5	9,774	37.7			15,230	58.8			25,905
Beauharnois—Salaberry	11,175	36.3	13,290	43.1			6,341	20.6			30,806
Bellechase	2,953	22.7	4,954	38.1			5,091	39.2			12,998
Berthier—Maskinonge— Delanaudiere	9,211	45.4	7,607	37.5			3,452	17.0			20,270
Bonaventure	6,286	37.3	7,559	44.8			3,025	17.9			16,870
Brome—Missisquoi	8,074	41.8	7,629	39.5			3,598	18.6			19,301
Chambly—Rouville	9,688	39.2	11,813	47.8			3,236	13.1			24,737
Champlain	7,789	28.6	9,936	36.5	815	3.0	8,662	31.8			27,202
Chapleau	5,213	19.5	5,545	20.7	551	2.1	15,430	57.7			26,739
Charlevoix	6,341	31.1	5,408	26.5			8,645	42.4			20,394
Chateauguay—Huntingdon— Laprairie	9,260	42.2	10,305	46.9			2,398	10.9			21,963
Chicoutimi	5,803	17.7	9,310	28.4	1,071	3.3	16,566	50.6			32,750
Compton—Frontenac	4,657	27.0	4,379	25.4			8,184	47.5			17,220
Dorchester	3,582	23.5	3,939	25.9			7,701	50.6			15,222
Drummond—Arthabaska	7,050	18.5	13,414	35.2			17,597	46.2			38,061
Gaspe	10,530	44.5	8,055	34.1			5,067	21.4			23,652
Gatineau	7,983	33.3	10,135	42.2	963	4.0	4,925	20.5			24,006
Hull	6,612	17.8	17,932	48.2	1,043	2.8	11,642	31.3			37,229
Iles-de-la-Madeleine	2,230	44.1	2,765	54.6			67	1.3			5,062
Joliette—L'Assomption— Montcalm	17,600	47.7	12,172	33.0	829	2.2	6,310	17.1			36,911
Kamouraska	3,762	30.2	4,165	33.4			4,550	36.5			12,477
Labelle	6,107	33.7	6,218	34.3	985	5.4	4,813	26.6			18,123
Lac-Saint-Jean	3,341	17.6	4,018	21.1	935	4.9	10,743	56.4			19,037
Lapointe	2,524	8.4	11,245	37.5			16,186	54.0			29,955
Levis	3,575	15.0	8,826	36.9			11,504	48.1			23,905
Longueuil	17,578	44.3	14,686	37.0	2,518	6.3	4,186	10.5	739	1.9	39,707
Lotbiniere	6,183	38.5	5,581	34.8			4,287	26.7			16,051
Matapedia—Matane	8,484	36.8	6,304	27.4	328	1.4	7,299	31.7	633	2.7	23,048
Megantic	5,822	20.2	7,609	26.4			15,395	53.4			28,826
Montmagny—L'Islet	3,599	22.1	5,068	31.1			7,629	46.8			16,296
Nicolet—Yamaska	8,861	45.4	7,427	38.0			3,233	16.6			19,521
Pontiac—Temiscamingue	6,137	35.8	6,005	35.0	381	2.2	4,624	27.0			17,147
Portneuf	4,510	20.5	5,377	24.5			12,089	55.0			21,976
Quebec-Est	8,005	17.8	13,747	30.6	703	1.6	22,446	50.0			44,901
Quebec-Ouest	4,575	16.6	6,306	22.9	360	1.3	16,169	58.7	152	0.6	27,562
Quebec-Sud	9,216	32.2	12,521	43.8	1,296	4.5	5,586	19.5			28,619
Quebec—Montmorency	9,318	15.3	15,460	25.4			35,499	58.4	480	0.8	60,757
Richelieu—Vercheres	9,790	36.6	14,658	54.9			2,268	8.5			26,716
Richmond—Wolfe	5,843	24.3	6,430	26.7			11,816	49.1			24,089
Rimouski	8,956	31.5	9,955	35.0	393	1.4	9,171	32.2			28,475
Riviere-du-Loup—Temiscouata	5,380	25.1	7,959	37.2			8,058	37.7			21,397
Roberval	4,216	20.2	5,510	26.4			11,180	53.5			20,906
Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot	12,586	46.3	8,945	32.9			5,663	20.8			27,194
Saint-Jean—Iberville—											

Table 8-11 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Napierville	7,849	28.8	14,147	51.9	4,114	15.1	1,173	4.3			27,283
Saint-Maurice-Lafleche	4,931	13.7	10,912	30.3			20,225	56.1			36,068
Saguenay	6,168	19.1	10,210	31.5			15,992	49.4			32,370
Shefford	7,569	25.6	9,570	32.4			12,421	42.0			29,560
Sherbrooke	8,791	26.8	7,066	21.5	311	0.9	16,673	50.8			32,841
Stanstead	7,982	41.2	4,944	25.5			6,448	33.3			19,374
Terrebonne	11,155	28.1	15,547	39.2	3,680	9.3	9,269	23.4			39,651
Trois-Rivieres	15,545	48.7	11,675	36.6			4,715	14.8			31,935
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	8,392	47.5	8,126	46.0			1,135	6.4			17,653
Villeneuve	2,441	7.8	6,831	21.8	981	3.1	21,022	67.2			31,275
Totals	392,718	28.1	480,730	34.3	22,257	1.6	500,729	35.8	3,335	0.2	1,399,769
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier	3,582	27.3	6,464	49.3	1,871	14.3	1,201	9.2			13,118
Dollard	10,227	26.2	21,802	55.8	4,288	11.0	2,727	7.0			39,044
Hochelaga	7,784	29.7	13,220	50.4	2,475	9.4	2,379	9.1	347	1.3	26,205
Jacques-Cartier-Lasalle	27,883	40.0	34,232	49.1	5,778	8.3	1,758	2.5			69,651
Lafontaine	6,212	30.1	10,000	48.4	1,665	8.1	1,660	8.0	1,118	5.4	20,655
Laurier	5,466	33.1	8,255	50.0	1,360	8.2	1,419	8.6			16,500
Laval	22,843	31.2	36,248	49.5	5,302	7.2	4,294	5.9	4,513	6.2	73,200
Maisonneuve-Rosemont	11,696	30.0	18,016	46.2	6,314	16.2	2,003	5.1	942	2.4	38,971
Mercier	19,925	28.6	28,898	41.5	7,491	10.8	11,680	16.8	1,621	2.3	69,615
Mont-Royal	11,352	22.6	31,654	63.0	6,388	12.7	845	1.7			50,239
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	18,033	39.7	22,080	48.6	4,875	10.7	446	1.0			45,434
Outremont-Saint-Jean	6,504	30.2	10,134	47.1	4,308	20.0	577	2.7			21,523
Papineau	8,418	28.8	16,062	54.9	3,083	10.5	1,680	5.7			29,243
Sainte-Anne	4,478	33.9	7,737	58.5	627	4.7	381	2.9			13,223
Saint-Antoine-Westmount	10,869	40.4	13,973	52.0	1,346	5.0	702	2.6			26,890
Saint-Denis	8,282	33.7	11,728	47.7	2,261	9.2	1,908	7.8	393	1.6	24,572
Saint-Henri	9,013	34.2	13,323	50.5	2,200	8.3	1,188	4.5	646	2.4	26,370
Saint-Jacques	7,271	38.5	7,664	40.6	1,925	10.2	2,023	10.7			18,883
Saint-Laurent-Saint-Georges	4,969	35.7	7,227	51.9	1,282	9.2	437	3.1			13,915
Sainte-Marie	8,748	46.0	5,453	28.7	1,269	6.7	1,364	7.2	2,169	11.4	19,003
Verdun	11,489	33.9	13,860	40.9	3,430	10.1	1,032	3.0	4,089	12.1	33,900
Totals	225,044	32.6	338,030	49.0	69,538	10.1	41,704	6.0	15,838	2.3	690,154
Province Totals	617,762	29.6	818,760	39.2	91,795	4.4	542,433	26.0	19,173	0.9	2,089,923
Rejected											27,721
Total Vote Cast											2,117,644

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (75)

Ind. Lib.	=	9,654	68
Ind.	=	3,442	4
Ind. PC	=	2,713	4
CLE	=	1,836	1
Confed.	=	636	1
Cap. Fam.	=	393	1
Comm.	=	347	1
Ouv. Ind.	=	152	1

Table 8–12 Quebec—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil–Deux-Montagnes	10,176	35.3	12,324	42.8	1,179	4.1	5,114	17.8			28,793
Beauce	1,134	4.5	10,532	42.1	740	3.0	12,627	50.4			25,033
Beauharnois–Salaberry	5,440	17.6	15,892	51.3	1,795	5.8	7,836	25.3			30,963
Bellechase	1,291	10.7	5,434	44.9			5,367	44.4			12,092
Berthier–Maskinonge– Delanaudiere	8,471	41.6	8,178	40.1	392	1.9	3,339	16.4			20,380
Bonaventure	2,785	17.2	9,092	56.2			4,302	26.6			16,179
Brome–Missisquoi	8,411	44.6	7,105	37.7	856	4.5	2,468	13.1			18,840
Chambly–Rouville	3,412	13.9	13,850	56.6	2,311	9.4	4,887	20.0			24,460
Champlain	7,287	26.2	12,446	44.8	570	2.1	7,470	26.9			27,773
Chapleau	4,205	16.9	5,955	24.0			14,701	59.1			24,861
Charlevoix	6,843	34.2	5,787	28.9			7,390	36.9			20,020
Chateauguay–Huntingdon– Laprairie	6,926	30.2	10,746	46.9	1,226	5.3	4,039	17.6			22,937
Chicoutimi	3,670	11.7	10,334	33.0	2,687	8.6	14,581	46.6			31,272
Compton–Frontenac	3,471	21.9	5,673	35.9	445	2.8	6,234	39.4			15,823
Dorchester	3,597	25.3	4,801	33.7			5,830	41.0			14,228
Drummond–Arthabaska	3,416	9.2	17,338	46.9	1,456	3.9	14,739	39.9			36,949
Gaspé	8,846	37.2	10,738	45.1			4,208	17.7			23,792
Gatineau	5,861	23.6	11,589	46.6	1,102	4.4	6,295	25.3			24,847
Hull	2,965	8.0	19,667	53.0	891	2.4	13,603	36.6			37,126
Iles-de-la-Madeleine	183	3.8	3,053	63.6			1,568	32.6			4,804
Joliette–L'Assomption– Montcalm	16,103	42.6	12,299	32.5	2,033	5.4	7,399	19.6			37,834
Kamouraska	767	6.0	5,659	44.0	143	1.1	6,286	48.9			12,855
Labelle	2,844	16.4	6,632	38.3	905	5.2	6,951	40.1			17,332
Lac-Saint-Jean	1,373	7.4	6,219	33.7	1,524	8.3	9,318	50.5			18,434
Lapointe	3,474	12.3	8,506	30.2	2,857	10.1	13,312	47.3			28,149
Levis	4,563	19.4	9,634	41.0			9,315	39.6			23,512
Longueuil	14,269	33.6	17,223	40.6	3,208	7.6	7,735	18.2			42,435
Lotbinière	5,449	34.4	6,957	43.9			3,442	21.7			15,848
Matapédia–Matane	6,021	25.2	10,265	43.0			7,237	30.3	344	1.4	23,867
Megantic	4,267	16.5	9,140	35.4	1,115	4.3	11,329	43.8			25,851
Montmagny–L'Islet	3,292	20.7	7,096	44.6			5,537	34.8			15,925
Nicolet–Yamaska	9,438	48.1	8,124	41.4	228	1.2	1,825	9.3			19,615
Pontiac–Temiscamingue	6,449	38.9	6,448	38.9	351	2.1	3,339	20.1			16,587
Portneuf	459	2.3	6,776	33.3			11,473	56.5	1,616	8.0	20,324
Quebec-Est	6,593	14.9	16,976	38.4	1,450	3.3	18,661	42.2	540	1.2	44,220
Quebec-Ouest	3,160	11.7	9,580	35.4	848	3.1	13,136	48.5	373	1.4	27,097
Quebec-Sud	5,533	18.7	16,314	55.1	2,329	7.9	5,454	18.4			29,630
Quebec–Montmorency	5,555	8.9	25,091	40.4	3,282	5.3	28,147	45.3			62,075
Richelieu–Vercheres	1,795	6.8	14,194	53.5	936	3.5	9,616	36.2			26,541
Richmond–Wolfe	4,063	18.4	8,762	39.7	928	4.2	8,312	37.7			22,065
Rimouski	3,192	10.9	12,274	42.1	1,297	4.4	12,414	42.5			29,177
Rivière-du-Loup–Temiscouata	1,246	5.5	10,753	47.7	244	1.1	10,278	45.6			22,521
Roberval	1,667	8.4	6,908	34.6	1,025	5.1	10,345	51.9			19,945
Saint-Hyacinthe–Bagot	13,716	52.0	8,540	32.4			4,122	15.6			26,378
Saint-Jean–Iberville– Napierville	4,461	16.0	14,656	52.7	1,599	5.8	7,081	25.5			27,797

Table 8-12 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saint-Maurice-Lafleche	3,018	8.4	16,358	45.7	1,983	5.5	14,414	40.3			35,773
Saguenay	3,240	10.0	13,896	42.8	2,036	6.3	13,261	40.9			32,433
Shefford	4,991	18.9	9,713	36.8	1,706	6.5	9,989	37.8			26,399
Sherbrooke	3,390	10.7	12,103	38.2	1,052	3.3	12,708	40.1	2,469	7.8	31,722
Stanstead	6,394	34.1	7,649	40.8			4,714	25.1			18,757
Terrebonne	4,798	11.6	19,015	46.0	3,895	9.4	13,618	33.0			41,326
Trois-Rivieres	14,558	44.7	13,077	40.1	718	2.2	4,224	13.0			32,577
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	6,031	34.7	8,639	49.8			2,340	13.5	354	2.0	17,364
Villeneuve	2,235	7.5	7,270	24.3	2,279	7.6	18,096	60.6			29,880
Totals	276,794	20.0	573,280	41.4	55,621	4.0	472,026	34.1	5,696	0.4	1,383,417
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier	2,788	20.6	6,642	49.2	1,918	14.2	2,162	16.0			13,510
Dollard	4,693	11.4	23,764	57.9	6,342	15.4	4,938	12.0	1,320	3.2	41,057
Hochelaga	3,892	13.8	13,093	46.4	3,394	12.0	7,535	26.7	327	1.2	28,241
Jacques-Cartier-Lasalle	20,260	26.9	44,299	58.8	6,167	8.2	4,637	6.2			75,363
Lafontaine	2,937	13.6	10,929	50.5	3,340	15.4	4,456	20.6			21,662
Laurier	3,245	18.1	8,059	44.9	2,379	13.2	4,282	23.8			17,965
Laval	10,963	13.6	43,452	53.9	12,478	15.5	13,701	17.0			80,594
Maisonneuve-Rosemont	7,711	18.3	20,595	48.9	7,798	18.5	6,025	14.3			42,129
Mercier	15,130	19.0	33,450	41.9	11,606	14.6	19,577	24.5			79,763
Mont-Royal	5,693	10.6	37,648	70.4	8,855	16.5	1,318	2.5			53,514
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	8,734	18.4	30,532	64.5	7,141	15.1	932	2.0			47,339
Outremont-Saint-Jean	4,684	19.9	13,305	56.6	4,227	18.0	1,278	5.4			23,494
Papineau	4,353	14.5	15,677	52.4	3,388	11.3	4,959	16.6	1,560	5.2	29,937
Sainte-Anne	1,963	15.4	7,215	56.5	753	5.9	2,830	22.2			12,761
Saint-Antoine-Westmount	7,223	26.3	16,635	60.7	2,227	8.1	1,338	4.9			27,423
Saint-Denis	4,035	17.6	11,707	51.0	2,637	11.5	4,573	19.9			22,952
Saint-Henri	2,800	10.3	13,981	51.5	2,378	8.8	8,003	29.5			27,162
Saint-Jacques	5,831	28.9	7,841	38.9	2,106	10.4	4,386	21.8			20,164
Saint-Laurent-Saint-Georges	3,796	25.9	8,552	58.3	1,606	11.0	708	4.8			14,662
Sainte-Marie	8,549	42.4	6,043	29.9	1,320	6.5	4,271	21.2			20,183
Verdun	7,488	21.5	19,473	56.0	3,380	9.7	4,412	12.7			34,753
Totals	136,768	18.6	392,892	53.5	95,440	13.0	106,321	14.5	3,207	0.4	734,628
Province Totals	413,562	19.5	966,172	45.6	151,061	7.1	578,347	27.3	8,903	0.4	2,118,045
Rejected											25,201
Total Vote Cast											2,143,246

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (75)
Ind.	= 2,823	2
Ind. PC	= 1,616	1
Ind. Lib.	= 1,320	1
Ouv. Ind.	= 1,064	1
Ind. SC	= 717	2
Nat'l list.	= 540	1
Lib. Elec.	= 496	1
Comm.	= 327	1

Table 8–13 Quebec—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Ral. Cred.		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes	14,035	47.4	11,576	39.1	2,174	7.3	1,805	6.1			29,590
Beauce	338	1.3	10,530	41.3	7,514	29.4	7,138	28.0			25,520
Beauharnois—Salaberry	6,242	19.3	16,145	50.0	3,544	11.0	1,847	5.7	4,488	13.9	32,266
Bellechase	2,264	19.4	4,783	41.1	170	1.5	4,432	38.0			11,649
Berthier—Maskinonge— Delanaudiere	5,512	30.8	7,868	44.0	2,672	14.9	1,525	8.5	315	1.8	17,892
Bonaventure	6,236	38.5	8,985	55.4	251	1.5	733	4.5			16,205
Brome—Missisquoi	9,662	50.0	7,512	38.9	1,039	5.4	1,116	5.8			19,329
Chambly—Rouville	3,838	15.7	14,377	59.0	4,266	17.5	1,896	7.8			24,377
Champlain	6,106	23.7	12,334	47.9	2,098	8.1	5,221	20.3			25,759
Chapleau	2,320	9.0	6,816	26.5	872	3.4	15,402	59.8	338	1.3	25,748
Charlevoix	6,844	34.9	6,676	34.0	556	2.8	5,556	28.3			19,632
Chateauguay—Huntingdon— Laprairie	4,659	20.4	14,222	62.3	2,369	10.4	1,052	4.6	520	2.3	22,822
Chicoutimi	5,087	17.2	11,092	37.4	1,131	3.8	7,894	26.6	4,419	14.9	29,623
Compton—Frontenac	2,128	14.2	4,464	29.7	1,196	8.0	7,240	48.2			15,028
Dorchester	3,802	30.0	4,602	36.3	494	3.9	3,786	29.8			12,684
Drummond—Arthabaska	7,413	19.1	15,179	39.1	1,660	4.3	8,518	21.9	6,068	15.6	38,838
Gaspé	11,045	48.8	10,452	46.2			1,148	5.1			22,645
Gatineau	4,952	20.2	13,088	53.4	1,543	6.3	4,189	17.1	734	3.0	24,506
Hull	1,873	5.7	17,832	54.7	2,261	6.9	9,798	30.0	846	2.6	32,610
Iles-de-la-Madeleine	2,468	45.8	2,860	53.1	20	0.4	38	0.7			5,386
Joliette—L'Assomption— Montcalm	15,043	39.4	15,221	39.9	4,951	13.0	2,961	7.8			38,176
Kamouraska	300	2.5	5,639	46.7			6,127	50.8			12,066
Labelle	3,354	21.5	6,554	42.0	1,989	12.8	3,697	23.7			15,594
Lac-Saint-Jean	532	3.0	5,337	30.1	1,477	8.3	5,642	31.8	4,736	26.7	17,724
Lapointe	2,658	10.0	9,733	36.6	1,028	3.9	13,210	49.6			26,629
Levis	2,175	9.0	10,895	45.3	1,156	4.8	9,839	40.9			24,065
Longueuil	5,286	13.7	21,578	56.0	6,214	16.1	5,456	14.2			38,534
Lotbiniere	5,160	34.7	6,238	41.9			3,481	23.4			14,879
Matapédia—Matane	5,568	27.6	10,435	51.8	769	3.8	3,383	16.8			20,155
Megantic	2,634	10.6	9,486	38.0	1,641	6.6	11,195	44.9			24,956
Montmagny—L'Islet	4,450	30.5	6,389	43.7	341	2.3	3,426	23.5			14,606
Nicolet—Yamaska	11,734	63.8	6,090	33.1	210	1.1	368	2.0			18,402
Pontiac—Temiscamingue	6,322	37.6	6,593	39.2	434	2.6	3,279	19.5	194	1.2	16,822
Portneuf	3,400	17.5	5,390	27.7	184	0.9	6,539	33.6	3,938	20.2	19,451
Quebec-Est	5,546	13.5	18,900	46.1	2,870	7.0	13,642	33.3			40,958
Quebec-Ouest	3,454	13.6	10,669	41.9	1,222	4.8	9,820	38.6	298	1.2	25,463
Quebec-Sud	5,373	20.4	16,141	61.3	2,506	9.5	2,290	8.7			26,310
Quebec—Montmorency	5,811	8.9	30,084	46.0	7,709	11.8	14,720	22.5	7,117	10.9	65,441
Richelieu—Vercheres	3,107	12.0	15,697	60.4	1,868	7.2	5,317	20.5			25,989
Richmond—Wolfe	4,359	20.4	8,685	40.6	1,660	7.8	6,662	31.2			21,366
Rimouski	1,477	5.5	11,372	42.3	6,783	25.2	7,245	27.0			26,877
Riviere-du-Loup—Temiscouata	4,378	21.2	11,026	53.5	489	2.4	4,715	22.9			20,608
Roberval	2,189	11.2	7,712	39.3	968	4.9	8,736	44.6			19,605
Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot	15,127	53.3	11,690	41.2	591	2.1	994	3.5			28,402
Saint-Jean—Iberville— Napierville	12,510	43.6	6,784	23.7	2,260	7.9	785	2.7	6,338	22.1	28,677

Table 8-13 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Ral. Cred.		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saint-Maurice-Lafleche	5,115	15.7	14,395	44.1	5,669	17.4	7,429	22.8			32,608
Saguenay	4,348	13.2	15,062	45.8	5,019	15.3	8,478	25.8			32,907
Shefford	9,467	32.7	9,494	32.8			9,447	32.7	518	1.8	28,926
Sherbrooke	499	1.5	11,159	33.6	1,356	4.1	5,522	16.6	14,698	44.2	33,234
Stanstead	6,495	35.8	7,626	42.1	1,157	6.4	2,854	15.7			18,132
Terrebonne	10,417	27.4	16,806	44.2	5,384	14.2	5,412	14.2			38,019
Trois-Rivieres	4,799	15.2	10,617	33.6	749	2.4	2,488	7.9	12,927	40.9	31,580
Vaudreuil-Soulanges	6,580	37.3	8,955	50.8	1,346	7.6	750	4.3			17,631
Villeneuve	1,924	6.7	5,397	18.8	1,496	5.2	19,839	69.2			28,656
Totals	288,415	21.4	575,242	42.8	107,326	8.0	306,082	22.7	68,492	5.1	1,345,557
Ile de Montreal											
Cartier	2,209	20.8	5,389	50.6	1,903	17.9	1,141	10.7			10,642
Dollard	6,996	17.1	22,496	54.9	9,041	22.1	2,452	6.0			40,985
Hochelaga	4,662	18.7	11,929	47.8	4,902	19.6	3,486	14.0			24,979
Jacques-Cartier-Lasalle	17,184	22.0	44,251	56.6	13,853	17.7	2,956	3.8			78,244
Lafontaine	3,742	19.8	9,101	48.2	3,804	20.1	1,896	10.0	342	1.8	18,885
Laurier	2,251	17.4	7,032	54.5	1,925	14.9	1,704	13.2			12,912
Laval	13,353	15.2	44,533	50.8	21,484	24.5	8,349	9.5			87,719
Maisonneuve-Rosemont	8,027	20.7	17,663	45.7	9,753	25.2	3,244	8.4			38,687
Mercier	16,598	19.7	39,205	46.6	15,206	18.1	11,365	13.5	1,708	2.0	84,082
Mont-Royal	6,840	13.6	28,064	55.6	14,929	29.6	598	1.2			50,431
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	10,935	25.3	17,796	41.1	14,071	32.5	257	0.6	206	0.5	43,265
Outremont-Saint-Jean	3,241	16.2	11,855	59.4	3,730	18.7	662	3.3	465	2.3	19,953
Papineau	4,474	17.1	13,920	53.1	3,529	13.5	2,367	9.0	1,927	7.4	26,217
Sainte-Anne	2,283	22.1	6,150	59.6	826	8.0	1,060	10.3			10,319
Saint-Antoine-Westmount	6,343	27.0	13,378	56.9	3,241	13.8	542	2.3			23,504
Saint-Denis	5,270	24.8	11,000	51.7	2,872	13.5	1,787	8.4	352	1.7	21,281
Saint-Henri	6,297	26.0	12,310	50.8	3,364	13.9	2,039	8.4	228	0.9	24,238
Saint-Jacques	5,248	33.0	7,023	44.1	1,406	8.8	1,576	9.9	669	4.2	15,922
Saint-Laurent-Saint-Georges	2,648	23.0	6,920	60.1	1,676	14.6	274	2.4			11,518
Sainte-Marie	9,672	55.3	5,201	29.8	1,385	7.9	1,222	7.0			17,480
Verdun	6,213	20.4	18,072	59.3	4,113	13.5	2,094	6.9			30,492
Totals	144,486	20.9	353,288	51.1	137,013	19.8	51,071	7.4	5,897	0.9	691,755
Province Totals	432,901	21.2	928,530	45.6	244,339	12.0	357,153	17.5	74,389	3.7	2,037,312
Rejected											36,002
Total Vote Cast											2,073,314

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (75)	Elected
Ind.	= 42,966	8	1
Ind. Lib.	= 15,716	7	
PC Ind.	= 12,541	3	1
Ind. Ind.	= 669	1	
Rhino	= 618	2	
Comm.	= 570	2	
DVP	= 465	1	
Lib. Ouv.	= 352	1	
Ouv. Ind.	= 298	1	
Ind. SC	= 194	1	

Table 8–14 Quebec—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Ral. Cred.		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Abitibi	1,796	9.1	6,606	33.4	515	2.6	10,884	55.0			19,801
Argenteuil	13,566	42.2	15,726	48.9	1,696	5.3	1,158	3.6			32,146
Beauce	6,207	21.9	7,752	27.4	639	2.3	13,428	47.5	260	0.9	28,286
Beauharnois	8,703	30.3	17,203	59.8	1,764	6.1	1,087	3.8			28,757
Bellechase	2,262	9.5	9,793	41.3	528	2.2	11,137	47.0			23,720
Berthier	8,182	35.5	10,818	47.0	1,029	4.5	2,994	13.0			23,023
Bonaventure	3,674	19.3	10,144	53.3	282	1.5	4,240	22.3	680	3.6	19,020
Chambly	6,739	19.6	22,767	66.3	3,394	9.9	1,430	4.2			34,330
Champlain	6,449	24.3	9,665	36.4	550	2.1	9,866	37.2			26,530
Charlevoix	9,487	41.8	8,282	36.5	1,070	4.7	3,831	16.9			22,670
Chicoutimi	9,811	35.2	14,054	50.4	879	3.2	3,151	11.3			27,895
Compton	3,987	15.7	8,615	33.9	851	3.3	11,961	47.1			25,414
Drummond	8,342	27.6	11,667	38.5	723	2.4	9,545	31.5			30,277
Frontenac	3,510	13.0	9,863	36.7	1,231	4.6	12,298	45.7			26,902
Gaspe	6,969	34.3	9,208	45.3	564	2.8	3,571	17.6			20,312
Gatineau	7,581	28.3	14,348	53.5	1,163	4.3	3,711	13.8			26,803
Hull	3,661	10.9	22,982	68.7	1,151	3.4	5,311	15.9	337	1.0	33,442
Joliette	12,464	43.3	12,292	42.7	1,620	5.6	2,391	8.3			28,767
Kamouraska	4,996	23.0	7,631	35.1	359	1.7	8,762	40.3			21,748
Labelle	10,152	34.0	15,801	52.9	1,699	5.7	2,215	7.4			29,867
Lac-Saint-Jean	1,034	5.1	9,325	46.3	1,330	6.6	8,430	41.9			20,119
Langelier	8,150	27.8	11,439	39.0	658	2.2	8,770	29.9	308	1.1	29,325
Lapointe	8,077	32.1	11,821	47.0	919	3.7	4,324	17.2			25,141
Laprairie	5,316	12.6	31,968	75.9	3,551	8.4	1,288	3.1			42,123
Levis	9,523	29.0	12,227	37.2	1,189	3.6	9,887	30.1			32,826
Longueuil	5,448	17.3	19,080	60.7	4,254	13.5	2,023	6.4	635	2.0	31,440
Lotbiniere	8,215	27.4	9,743	32.5	732	2.4	11,302	37.7			29,992
Louis-Hebert	8,174	18.6	28,220	64.3	2,054	4.7	5,433	12.4			43,881
Manicouagan	4,539	20.2	13,504	60.0	2,463	10.9	1,992	8.9			22,498
Matane	6,055	35.5	9,207	54.0	639	3.7	1,159	6.8			17,060
Missisquoi	11,705	38.2	12,905	42.1	803	2.6	5,205	17.0			30,618
Montmorency	6,555	15.8	17,327	41.8	775	1.9	16,114	38.9	649	1.6	41,420
Pontiac	7,392	35.4	10,250	49.1	827	4.0	2,420	11.6			20,889
Portneuf	4,519	11.9	13,965	36.8	1,126	3.0	18,328	48.3			37,938
Quebec-Est	4,607	13.4	14,945	43.6	953	2.8	13,807	40.2			34,312
Richelieu	12,470	39.6	15,350	48.8	1,300	4.1	1,966	6.2	395	1.3	31,481
Richmond	3,527	14.2	8,870	35.7	608	2.4	11,853	47.7			24,858
Rimouski	9,445	38.6	12,073	49.4			2,937	12.0			24,455
Roberval	1,951	10.4	7,727	41.3	241	1.3	8,811	47.0			18,730
Saint-Hyacinthe	16,389	47.4	15,601	45.2	878	2.5	1,682	4.9			34,550
Saint-Jean	9,715	31.8	15,878	52.0	3,332	10.9	1,373	4.5	214	0.7	30,512
Saint-Maurice	4,570	14.6	13,895	44.5	550	1.8	12,198	39.1			31,213
Shefford	5,718	18.4	12,158	39.1	574	1.8	12,633	40.6			31,083
Sherbrooke	5,946	15.7	15,270	40.2	1,563	4.1	15,172	40.0			37,951
Temiscamingue	1,774	8.3	6,603	30.8	556	2.6	12,532	58.4			21,465
Temiscouata	8,630	38.1	10,605	46.9	360	1.6	3,029	13.4			22,624

Table 8-14 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Ral. Cred.		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Terrebonne	6,934	20.3	21,191	62.0	3,860	11.3	1,363	4.0	824	2.4	34,172
Trois-Rivieres	10,501	27.6	17,592	46.2	1,724	4.5	7,305	19.2	930	2.4	38,052
Villeneuve	2,182	10.3	7,994	37.8	886	4.2	10,073	47.7			21,135
Totals	337,599	24.3	651,950	46.8	60,412	4.3	336,380	24.2	5,232	0.4	1,391,573
Ile de Montreal et Ile Jesus											
Ahuntsic	4,807	13.5	23,149	64.9	4,977	14.0	1,243	3.5	1,483	4.2	35,659
Bourassa	10,939	30.5	19,778	55.1	3,443	9.6	1,401	3.9	339	0.9	35,900
Dollard	2,391	5.1	34,146	72.2	10,485	22.2	287	0.6			47,309
Duvernay	1,068	2.9	18,701	50.5	16,225	43.9	1,006	2.7			37,000
Gamelin	8,866	25.5	19,051	54.9	5,210	15.0	873	2.5	723	2.1	34,723
Hochelaga	5,720	26.1	12,080	55.1	2,793	12.7	1,122	5.1	192	0.9	21,907
Lachine	6,225	15.4	25,989	64.4	7,898	19.6	220	0.5			40,332
Lafontaine	6,412	25.2	14,786	58.1	3,142	12.4	879	3.5	210	0.8	25,429
Lasalle	7,018	18.2	26,546	68.7	4,097	10.6	982	2.5			38,643
Laurier	2,827	14.7	10,040	52.1	843	4.4	695	3.6	4,882	25.3	19,287
Laval	4,801	12.5	24,740	64.4	5,807	15.1	940	2.4	2,141	5.6	38,429
Maisonneuve	5,522	20.4	15,784	58.2	4,588	16.9	1,233	4.5			27,127
Mercier	10,571	28.9	19,077	52.1	3,041	8.3	3,011	8.2	888	2.4	36,588
Mount Royal	1,965	4.8	37,402	90.8	1,583	3.8	80	0.2	182	0.4	41,212
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	2,466	6.9	25,959	73.0	7,123	20.0					35,548
Outremont	3,059	9.9	24,219	78.7	3,511	11.4					30,789
Papineau	4,168	18.3	14,379	63.2	2,572	11.3	1,094	4.8	537	2.4	22,750
Saint-Denis	3,653	15.4	17,022	71.7	1,908	8.0	1,165	4.9			23,748
Saint-Henri	972	4.8	12,792	63.4	1,491	7.4	608	3.0	4,299	21.3	20,162
Saint-Jacques	4,238	26.1	9,701	59.7	971	6.0	705	4.3	625	3.8	16,240
Sainte-Marie	9,528	45.0	7,449	35.2	1,149	5.4	884	4.2	2,146	10.1	21,156
Saint-Michel	4,685	14.0	22,307	66.8	3,176	9.5	2,515	7.5	711	2.1	33,394
Vaudreuil	7,654	19.0	29,830	73.9	2,905	7.2					40,389
Verdun	3,410	11.5	22,436	75.6	2,813	9.5	1,004	3.4			29,663
Westmount	5,928	15.1	31,104	79.1	2,303	5.9					39,335
Totals	128,893	16.3	518,467	65.4	104,054	13.1	21,947	2.8	19,358	2.4	792,719
Province Totals	466,492	21.4	1,170,417	53.6	164,466	7.5	358,327	16.4	24,590	1.1	2,184,292
Rejected											45,053
Total Vote Cast											2,229,345

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (74)

Ind.	=	13,541	11
Ind. Lib.	=	4,472	5
PDE	=	2,651	5
Franclub.	=	2,141	1
Rhino	=	354	1
Cons.	=	339	1
Esp. Soc.	=	311	1
RC Ind.	=	308	1
PC Ind.	=	281	1
Comm.	=	192	1

Table 8–15 Quebec—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Abitibi	1,739	7.8	8,203	36.6			12,482	55.7			22,424
Argenteuil–Deux-Montagnes	7,987	21.7	18,749	50.9	1,929	5.2	8,199	22.2			36,864
Beauce	5,551	17.3	13,170	41.1	632	2.0	12,686	39.6			32,039
Beauharnois–Salaberry	7,040	20.4	16,745	48.4	2,727	7.9	8,061	23.3			34,573
Bellechase	3,533	12.2	11,714	40.4	776	2.7	12,999	44.8			29,022
Berthier	4,481	15.5	14,035	48.5	589	2.0	9,809	33.9			28,914
Bonaventure– Iles-de-la-Madeleine	5,108	22.6	12,213	53.9	480	2.1	4,842	21.4			22,643
Brome–Missisquoi	15,593	41.5	12,165	32.4	795	2.1	9,038	24.0			37,591
Chambly	8,151	16.4	26,532	53.2	5,532	11.1	8,728	17.5	909	1.8	49,852
Champlain	2,770	9.4	11,403	38.6	505	1.7	14,882	50.3			29,560
Charlevoix	5,747	22.0	10,105	38.7			10,264	39.3			26,116
Chicoutimi	12,712	35.4	15,655	43.6	935	2.6	6,572	18.3			35,874
Compton	4,142	15.2	10,656	39.1	654	2.4	11,636	42.7	182	0.7	27,270
Drummond	5,351	14.2	15,853	42.0	590	1.6	15,923	42.2			37,717
Frontenac	5,635	19.0	12,014	40.6			11,950	40.4			29,599
Gaspé	7,059	30.6	12,422	53.8	643	2.8	2,970	12.9			23,094
Gatineau	4,163	13.2	15,894	50.3	2,047	6.5	9,469	30.0			31,573
Hull	4,173	11.0	24,630	64.9	3,796	10.0	4,874	12.9	453	1.2	37,926
Joliette	1,770	4.6	12,819	33.1	361	0.9	5,652	14.6	18,074	46.7	38,676
Kamouraska	2,842	10.7	9,053	34.1	495	1.9	14,195	53.4			26,585
Labelle	6,439	17.5	15,807	42.9	1,645	4.5	12,247	33.2	739	21.0	36,877
Lac-Saint-Jean	7,074	29.7	11,165	46.9			5,203	21.9	362	1.5	23,804
Langelier	3,206	12.5	14,725	57.3			6,101	23.7	1,662	6.5	25,694
Lapointe	4,042	14.2	16,423	57.7			6,934	24.3	1,084	3.8	28,483
Laprairie	9,147	16.3	34,557	61.4	5,261	9.3	7,315	13.0			56,280
Levis	9,848	24.7	17,588	44.2	1,593	4.0	10,256	25.8	519	1.3	39,804
Longueuil	7,015	14.1	22,129	44.6	4,548	9.2	12,091	24.4	3,815	7.7	49,598
Lotbinière	4,258	12.0	9,836	27.7			21,366	60.3			35,460
Louis–Hebert	7,566	14.1	30,928	57.8	7,750	14.5	4,672	8.7	2,575	4.8	53,491
Manicouagan	4,625	15.6	16,780	56.5	2,156	7.3	6,136	20.7			29,697
Matane	2,999	15.8	10,038	52.8			5,968	31.4			19,005
Montmorency	5,904	11.3	24,250	46.3	2,215	4.2	15,126	28.9	4,845	9.3	52,340
Pontiac	3,993	17.2	11,780	50.8	913	3.9	6,519	28.1			23,205
Portneuf	4,664	8.7	23,113	42.9	2,430	4.5	23,626	43.9			53,833
Quebec-Est	6,152	16.9	19,382	53.2			10,926	30.0			36,460
Richelieu	9,487	25.4	18,087	48.3	1,209	3.2	8,340	22.3			37,415
Richmond	3,887	14.2	8,657	31.7	624	2.3	14,133	51.8			27,301
Rimouski	5,657	18.4	11,097	36.1	732	2.4	13,241	43.1			30,727
Rivière-du-Loup– Temiscouata	5,263	21.1	10,004	40.1			9,659	38.8			24,926
Roberval	2,347	10.6	8,472	38.3			11,316	51.1			22,135
Saint-Hyacinthe	16,680	38.9	15,982	37.3	814	1.9	8,716	20.3	646	1.5	42,838
Saint-Jean	8,462	22.6	16,459	43.9	2,165	5.8	9,304	24.8	1,084	2.9	37,474
Saint-Maurice	2,227	6.4	19,840	56.7	1,032	2.9	11,363	32.5	552	1.6	35,014

Table 8-15 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Shefford	6,228	16.1	12,928	33.4	786	2.0	18,803	48.5			38,745
Sherbrooke	6,700	14.1	20,569	43.2	1,713	3.6	16,072	33.7	2,593	5.4	47,647
Temiscamingue	752	3.0	6,731	27.2	774	3.1	15,660	63.2	854	3.4	24,771
Terrebonne	10,885	20.5	24,928	47.1	4,022	7.6	13,136	24.8			52,971
Trois-Rivieres Metropolitain	5,662	12.6	19,892	44.4	2,022	4.5	17,250	38.5			44,826
Villeneuve	1,462	5.8	10,719	42.4	1,042	4.1	12,070	47.7			25,293
Totals	288,178	17.0	766,896	45.3	68,932	4.1	528,780	31.2	41,240	2.4	1,694,026
Ile de Montreal et Ile Jesus											
Ahuntsic	6,429	16.0	21,741	54.2	6,706	16.7	4,467	11.1	734	1.8	40,077
Dollard	9,511	16.5	38,984	67.6	8,111	14.1			1,053	1.8	57,659
Duvernay	7,950	16.7	23,050	48.5	5,669	11.9	9,659	20.3	1,217	2.6	47,545
Gamelin	7,066	17.6	20,860	51.9	5,119	12.7	7,135	17.8			40,180
Hochelaga	6,199	25.7	11,235	46.6	4,515	18.7			2,171	9.0	24,120
Lachine	11,344	24.7	26,680	58.2	4,221	9.2	3,597	7.8			45,842
Lafontaine	6,134	21.7	13,508	47.7	3,350	11.8	5,078	17.9	228	0.8	28,298
Lasalle	7,652	15.3	30,816	61.6	5,195	10.4	6,339	12.7			50,002
Laurier	3,320	16.1	10,936	53.0	2,290	11.1	3,789	18.4	287	1.4	20,622
Laval	6,219	13.0	28,121	58.8	5,868	12.3	6,921	14.5	669	1.4	47,798
Maisonnette-Rosemont	6,551	21.8	13,607	45.2	3,786	12.6	5,877	19.5	294		30,115
Mercier	9,010	18.9	22,207	46.6	4,921	10.3	11,468	24.1			47,606
Montreal-Bourassa	9,054	18.2	25,728	51.7	4,601	9.2	10,418	20.9			49,801
Mount Royal	4,446	9.7	36,875	80.6	3,274	7.2	625	1.4	513	1.1	45,733
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	6,991	19.7	24,126	68.0	3,957	11.2			391	1.1	35,465
Outremont	2,811	8.6	21,399	65.5	5,223	16.0	1,404	4.3	1,842	5.6	32,679
Papineau	4,205	14.6	15,347	53.4	3,118	10.9	5,802	20.2	254	0.9	28,726
Saint-Denis	3,695	14.0	16,991	64.2			3,968	15.0	1,811	6.8	26,465
Saint-Henri	2,802	14.7	7,191	37.6	1,161	6.1	2,082	10.9	5,869	30.7	19,105
Saint-Jacques	3,213	20.5	8,682	55.8	1,598	10.2	1,696	10.8	497	3.2	15,686
Sainte-Marie	7,826	34.8	7,945	35.3	1,482	6.6	3,662	16.3	1,570	7.0	22,485
Saint-Michel	7,158	14.6	23,850	48.8	4,551	9.3	8,591	17.6	4,758	9.7	48,908
Vaudreuil	11,477	22.8	27,372	54.4	3,573	7.1	4,526	9.0	3,396	6.7	50,344
Verdun	7,626	22.0	20,943	60.4	2,518	7.3	3,323	9.6	239	0.7	34,649
Westmount	10,551	26.3	24,049	60.0	5,171	12.9			293	0.7	40,064
Totals	169,240	18.2	522,243	56.2	99,978	10.8	110,427	11.9	28,086	3.0	929,974
Province Totals	457,418	17.4	1,289,139	49.1	168,910	6.4	639,207	24.4	69,326 ¹	1.7	2,624,000 ¹
Rejected											165,136
Total Vote Cast											2,789,136 ¹

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (74)	Elected
Ind. = 44,579 ¹	34	1
None = 25,781 ¹	27	

¹Table 6 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* shows a total of 43,495 votes for Independents and 26,867 for "None," vote differences of 1,084 and 1,086 votes respectively. Evidently, one or more candidates listed in the riding analysis as Independent could be carried as "None," or vice-versa. The difference of 2 votes cannot be explained, but is reflected in a Total Vote Cast which is 2 less than that found in Table 6 of the *Report*.

Table 8–16 Quebec—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Abitibi	1,199	5.5	7,046	32.1	1,031	4.7	12,423	56.5	282	1.3	21,981
Argenteuil—Deux-Montagnes	10,418	27.8	20,414	54.5	2,286	6.1	4,333	11.6			37,451
Beauce	8,385	25.6	13,855	42.3	418	1.3	9,640	29.8	442	1.4	32,740
Beauharnois—Salaberry	9,801	30.2	16,828	51.9	1,445	4.5	3,430	10.6	911	2.8	32,415
Bellechase	3,210	11.8	10,759	39.7	604	2.2	12,550	46.3			27,123
Berthier	8,370	29.8	15,316	54.6	591	2.1	3,796	13.5			28,073
Bonaventure— Iles-de-la-Madeleine	6,884	32.5	12,977	61.3	1,313	6.2					21,174
Brome—Missisquoi	19,490	51.6	13,506	35.8	1,172	3.1	3,597	9.5			37,765
Chambly	10,887	20.9	30,226	58.1	4,825	9.3	5,547	10.7	552	1.1	52,037
Champlain	2,452	8.3	11,896	40.3	716	2.4	14,466	49.0			29,530
Charlevoix	4,942	19.8	10,372	41.6	692	2.8	8,905	35.7			24,911
Chicoutimi	9,817	29.2	17,096	50.9	882	2.6	5,618	16.7	202	0.6	33,615
Compton	4,407	16.5	11,474	43.0	858	3.2	9,917	37.2			26,656
Drummond	5,186	14.0	15,561	42.1	630	1.7	15,548	42.1			36,925
Frontenac	2,667	9.2	14,236	49.2	2,032	7.0	10,000	34.6			28,935
Gaspé	8,445	40.9	12,213	59.1							20,658
Gatineau	3,944	12.2	19,513	60.1	1,781	5.5	7,205	22.2			32,443
Hull	4,006	10.6	26,872	71.2	3,093	8.2	3,292	8.7	472	1.3	37,735
Joliette	21,935	54.3	14,329	35.5	763	1.9	2,986	7.4	347	0.9	40,360
Kamouraska	1,933	8.4	9,484	41.1			11,664	50.5			23,081
Labelle	14,928	39.7	16,224	43.2	1,326	3.5	4,688	12.5	392	1.0	37,558
Lac-Saint-Jean	6,129	26.3	11,162	47.9	625	2.7	5,372	23.1			23,288
Langelier	2,530	11.9	13,557	63.6	1,110	5.2	3,344	15.7	779	3.7	21,320
Lapointe	1,982	7.4	16,673	61.9	1,587	5.9	6,466	24.0	227	0.8	26,935
Laprairie	12,767	22.4	35,276	61.8	5,153	9.0	3,855	6.8			57,051
Levis	11,485	31.5	20,348	55.7	4,279	11.7			404	1.1	36,516
Longueuil	7,267	15.5	24,500	52.2	6,042	12.9	7,490	16.0	1,630	3.5	46,929
Lotbinière	2,833	7.9	10,885	30.5	504	1.4	21,448	60.1			35,670
Louis—Hebert	5,201	10.9	32,441	68.0	6,829	14.3	2,799	5.9	419	0.9	47,689
Manicouagan	4,024	16.7	16,220	67.2	3,247	13.4			659	2.7	24,150
Matane	2,598	15.7	11,194	67.8	567	3.4	2,141	13.0			16,500
Montmorency	11,867	22.8	27,082	52.0	3,570	6.9	8,905	17.1	622	1.2	52,046
Pontiac	5,277	23.2	12,642	55.7	1,394	6.1	3,394	14.9			22,707
Portneuf	4,427	8.4	25,620	48.8	2,980	5.7	19,456	37.1			52,483
Quebec-Est	5,060	15.7	19,014	59.0	2,522	7.8	5,442	16.9	210	0.7	32,248
Richelieu	12,052	34.2	20,801	59.0	1,679	4.8			737	2.1	35,269
Richmond	5,094	18.6	9,526	34.8	917	3.4	11,825	43.2			27,362
Rimouski	893	2.9	13,698	44.6	528	1.7	15,085	49.1	499	1.6	30,703
Rivière-du-Loup— Temiscouata	9,128	36.4	11,071	44.2	708	2.8	3,261	13.0	885	3.5	25,053
Roberval	1,096	4.8	8,636	37.8	240	1.1	12,877	56.4			22,849
Saint-Hyacinthe	21,453	51.0	15,965	37.9	861	2.0	2,940	7.0	883	2.1	42,102
Saint-Jean	9,689	27.4	18,798	53.2	2,234	6.3	3,014	8.5	1,600	4.5	35,335
Saint-Maurice	3,501	11.2	20,465	65.3	1,442	4.6	5,471	17.4	482	1.5	31,361

Table 8-16 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Shefford	6,193	16.6	14,663	39.3	903	2.4	15,512	41.6			37,271
Sherbrooke	4,716	11.1	23,903	56.4	2,238	5.3	10,864	25.6	673	1.6	42,394
Temiscamingue	641	2.9	6,396	29.1	884	4.0	14,026	63.9			21,947
Terrebonne	9,897	19.4	28,652	56.1	3,812	7.5	8,138	15.9	537	1.1	51,036
Trois-Rivieres Metropolitain	5,949	15.0	24,335	61.2	1,738	4.4	7,538	18.9	221	0.6	39,781
Villeneuve	3,006	12.8	8,905	37.8	1,205	5.1	10,452	44.3			23,568
Totals	340,061	20.9	822,625	50.6	86,256	5.3	360,720	22.2	15,067	0.9	1,624,729
Ile de Montreal et Ile Jesus											
Ahuntsic	5,304	14.9	24,041	67.5	3,448	9.7	2,449	6.9	384	1.1	35,626
Dollard	9,979	18.2	37,088	67.5	5,746	10.5	1,890	3.4	252	0.5	54,955
Duvernay	9,165	21.3	25,674	59.6	3,275	7.6	4,996	11.6			43,110
Gamelin	6,557	19.0	20,698	60.0	3,234	9.4	3,684	10.7	344	1.0	34,517
Hochelaga	6,435	30.4	10,561	49.9	1,461	6.9	2,258	10.7	466	2.2	21,181
Lachine-Bord-du-Lac	13,550	32.7	22,068	53.3	3,571	8.6	1,710	4.1	511	1.2	41,410
Lafontaine	7,887	33.3	11,399	48.2	2,104	8.9	2,045	8.6	238	1.0	23,673
Lasalle-Emard-											
Cote Saint-Paul	8,612	19.3	28,134	63.2	4,560	10.2	2,955	6.6	283	0.6	44,544
Laurier	3,310	19.3	10,085	58.8	1,646	9.6	1,582	9.2	528	3.1	17,151
Laval	7,224	15.9	29,715	65.3	4,258	9.4	3,922	8.6	382	0.8	45,501
Maisonneuve-Rosemont	6,053	24.0	13,817	54.8	2,186	8.7	2,783	11.0	356	1.4	25,195
Mercier	7,026	17.4	22,545	55.7	4,137	10.2	6,255	15.5	478	1.2	40,441
Montreal-Bourassa	7,500	16.9	26,550	60.0	3,912	8.8	5,218	11.8	1,080	2.4	44,260
Mount Royal	5,723	13.3	32,166	75.0	4,214	9.8	414	1.0	373	0.9	42,890
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	8,300	25.5	20,151	62.0	3,673	11.3			391	1.2	32,515
Outremont	3,007	10.7	20,400	72.3	3,453	12.2	663	2.3	691	2.4	28,214
Papineau	3,740	15.9	14,532	61.9	1,992	8.5	2,899	12.3	319	1.4	23,482
Saint-Denis	4,897	20.3	15,310	63.3	1,963	8.1	1,630	6.7	370	1.5	24,170
Saint-Henri	6,147	36.3	8,813	52.0	922	5.4	633	3.7	425	2.5	16,940
Saint-Jacques	3,518	25.6	7,709	56.0	1,313	9.5	797	5.8	427	3.1	13,764
Sainte-Marie	7,902	41.9	8,300	44.0	1,154	6.1	1,229	6.5	296	1.6	18,881
Saint-Michel	6,816	15.0	29,822	65.4	3,833	8.4	4,348	9.5	753	1.7	45,572
Vaudreuil	12,422	24.8	29,685	59.3	4,397	8.8	2,752	5.5	805	1.6	50,061
Verdun	7,922	26.6	17,633	59.3	2,232	7.5	1,774	6.0	199	0.7	29,760
Westmount	11,575	32.0	20,816	57.6	3,140	8.7	412	1.1	190	0.5	36,133
Totals	180,571	21.7	507,712	60.9	75,824	9.1	59,298	7.1	10,541	1.3	833,946
Province Totals	520,632	21.2	1,330,337	54.1	162,080	6.6	420,018	17.1	25,608	1.0	2,458,675
Rejected											134,126
Total Vote Cast											2,592,801

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (74)

M.-L.	=	9,885	38
Ind.	=	6,712	14
None	=	6,414	12
Comm.	=	2,597	14

Table 8-17 Quebec—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Abitibi	5,652	12.0	15,697	33.3	1,420	3.0	21,387	45.4	2,988	6.3	47,144
Argenteuil	5,889	17.2	22,043	64.3	1,579	4.6	3,780	11.0	1,009	2.9	34,300
Beauce	2,704	6.2	15,193	35.0	215	0.5	24,770	57.1	472	1.1	43,354
Beauharnois—Salaberry	7,460	18.3	26,048	63.9	1,866	4.6	4,190	10.3	1,207	3.0	40,771
Bellechase	2,924	7.3	17,584	43.7	354	0.9	18,702	46.4	718	1.8	40,282
Berthier—Maskinonge	11,995	31.7	21,725	57.4	841	2.2	2,851	7.5	414	1.1	37,826
Blainville—Deux-Montagnes	5,042	9.8	34,885	68.1	3,472	6.8	5,972	11.7	1,852	3.6	51,223
Bonaventure— Iles-de-la-Madeleine	11,641	40.2	15,777	54.5	1,514	5.2					28,932
Chambly	7,221	14.0	32,952	63.8	3,324	6.4	6,436	12.5	1,755	3.4	51,688
Champlain	4,200	10.1	22,256	53.3	1,328	3.2	2,796	6.7	11,194	26.8	41,774
Charlesbourg	5,860	9.5	40,796	66.0	3,784	6.1	10,461	16.9	948	1.5	61,849
Charlevoix	4,503	14.3	18,031	57.4	613	2.0	8,004	25.5	251	0.8	31,402
Chateauguay	5,909	14.6	27,485	67.8	2,404	5.9	3,668	9.0	1,096	2.7	40,562
Chicoutimi	7,897	23.5	16,605	49.5	1,435	4.3	6,763	20.1	872	2.6	33,572
Drummond	5,746	14.3	22,989	57.2	639	1.6	10,010	24.9	814	2.0	40,198
Frontenac	7,140	19.3	17,024	46.1	492	1.3	11,582	31.4	665	1.8	36,903
Gaspé	11,797	41.3	14,830	51.9	783	2.7	934	3.3	203	0.7	28,547
Gatineau	3,174	6.7	34,234	71.9	3,292	6.9	6,206	13.0	716	1.5	47,622
Hull	2,320	5.4	30,413	70.2	7,175	16.6	2,357	5.4	1,073	2.5	43,338
Joliette	23,960	50.7	18,466	39.1	1,324	2.8	2,446	5.2	1,042	2.2	47,238
Jonquière	1,597	4.6	21,969	62.7	2,724	7.8	7,596	21.7	1,144	3.3	35,030
Kamouraska— Rivière-du-Loup	5,662	16.2	15,328	43.9	357	1.0	12,529	35.9	1,021	2.9	34,897
Labelle	6,073	13.5	29,614	65.7	2,134	4.7	6,580	14.6	665	1.5	45,066
Lac-Saint-Jean	3,251	9.0	18,978	52.6	1,589	4.4	11,048	30.6	1,223	3.4	36,089
Langelier	2,186	5.6	25,931	66.6	3,773	9.7	4,748	12.2	2,315	5.9	38,953
Laprairie	6,576	11.6	39,410	69.4	4,188	7.4	4,461	7.9	2,157	3.8	56,792
Levis	6,726	12.4	31,753	58.3	3,392	6.2	11,403	20.9	1,182	2.2	54,456
Longueuil	5,952	10.7	34,207	61.3	3,995	7.2	8,173	14.6	3,496	6.3	55,823
Lotbinière	3,639	8.7	16,958	40.3	1,159	2.8	20,083	47.8	202	0.5	42,041
Louis—Hebert	3,322	5.8	37,908	66.0	5,812	10.1	9,297	16.2	1,097	1.9	57,436
Manicouagan	4,948	15.8	18,528	59.0	2,105	6.7	5,378	17.1	453	1.4	31,412
Matapédia—Matane	2,993	11.0	19,728	72.4	548	2.0	3,602	13.2	374	1.4	27,245
Mégantic—Compton— Stanstead	7,463	19.9	19,309	51.6	1,316	3.5	9,047	24.2	281	0.8	37,416
Missisquoi	18,198	48.0	16,383	43.2	991	2.6	2,097	5.5	212	0.6	37,881
Montmorency	4,506	10.7	26,870	63.6	1,859	4.4	8,467	20.0	552	1.3	42,254
Pontiac—Gatineau—Labelle	5,851	18.4	20,253	63.8	1,682	5.3	3,084	9.7	892	2.8	31,762
Portneuf	3,620	9.1	25,297	63.6	1,346	3.4	8,330	20.9	1,169	2.9	39,762
Quebec-Est	3,128	7.3	28,365	65.8	2,147	5.0	7,778	18.0	1,680	3.9	43,098
Richelieu	11,258	24.9	25,264	55.9	1,500	3.3	5,798	12.8	1,404	3.1	45,224
Richmond	2,472	7.4	15,135	45.3	551	1.6	14,662	43.9	576	1.7	33,396
Rimouski	2,556	6.9	16,716	45.0	492	1.3	16,821	45.3	535	1.4	37,120
Roberval	3,705	10.9	13,677	40.3	385	1.1	15,582	45.9	589	1.7	33,938
Saint-Hyacinthe	12,327	28.1	23,666	54.0	802	1.8	6,087	13.9	953	2.2	43,835
Saint-Jean	4,050	9.2	28,496	64.5	2,204	5.0	8,275	18.7	1,155	2.6	44,180
Saint-Maurice	2,795	7.3	27,243	71.1	952	2.5	6,837	17.8	511	1.3	38,338

Table 8-17 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Shefford	11,567	23.5	25,287	51.5	1,008	2.1	3,922	8.0	7,345	15.0	49,129
Sherbrooke	3,809	9.1	25,110	60.1	1,180	2.8	10,573	25.3	1,075	2.6	41,747
Temiscamingue	4,659	11.9	16,147	41.3	1,473	3.8	15,295	39.1	1,502	3.8	39,076
Terrebonne	5,845	10.5	34,839	62.3	3,114	5.6	10,239	18.3	1,890	3.4	55,927
Trois-Rivieres	4,099	10.7	23,311	61.0	1,682	4.4	7,950	20.8	1,189	3.1	38,231
Vercheres	8,156	14.0	36,542	62.8	3,652	6.3	7,460	12.8	2,361	4.1	58,171
Totals	316,023	14.8	1,223,255	57.3	97,966	4.6	426,517	20.0	59,971	3.3	2,134,250
Ile de Montreal et Ile Jesus											
Bourassa	3,705	7.7	29,929	62.5	1,804	3.8	5,178	10.8	7,250	15.1	47,866
Dollard	6,208	11.0	43,294	76.7	3,949	7.0	1,801	3.2	1,212	2.1	56,464
Duvernay	4,152	8.0	35,270	68.1	2,839	5.5	7,446	14.4	2,059	4.0	51,766
Gamelin	4,711	10.5	30,567	67.9	2,753	6.1	5,247	11.7	1,720	3.8	44,998
Hochelaga-Maisonneuve	3,605	10.6	21,059	61.9	1,746	5.1	3,769	11.1	3,844	11.3	34,023
Lachine	13,428	28.5	29,846	63.3	2,450	5.2	801	1.7	626	1.3	47,151
Lasalle	4,669	9.6	36,560	75.1	3,249	6.7	2,668	5.5	1,548	3.2	48,694
Laurier	2,790	9.8	17,366	60.7	1,934	6.8	3,250	11.4	3,269	11.4	28,609
Laval	5,484	9.9	40,067	72.6	3,521	6.4	4,592	8.3	1,543	2.8	55,207
Laval-des-Rapides	5,033	9.9	36,387	71.9	3,702	7.3	4,779	9.4	726	1.4	50,627
Mercier	5,076	11.2	26,784	58.9	1,816	4.0	10,328	22.7	1,448	3.2	45,452
Mount Royal	3,660	7.2	43,202	85.2	2,023	4.0	1,049	2.1	789	1.6	50,723
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	6,632	14.5	33,011	72.4	3,683	8.1	1,316	2.9	943	2.1	45,585
Outremont	2,134	5.4	28,710	72.2	4,112	10.3	1,765	4.4	3,070	7.7	39,791
Papineau	2,652	7.7	23,619	68.5	1,913	5.5	4,039	11.7	2,268	6.6	34,491
Rosemont	3,129	7.9	28,116	71.0	2,238	5.7	3,919	9.9	2,195	5.5	39,597
Saint-Denis	3,380	8.2	30,552	74.1	2,412	5.9	3,177	7.7	1,707	4.1	41,228
Saint-Henri-Westmount	6,374	14.5	31,486	71.6	3,297	7.5	1,376	3.1	1,462	3.3	43,995
Saint-Jacques	3,704	12.5	20,520	69.2	1,978	6.7	1,715	5.8	1,748	5.9	29,665
Saint-Leonard-Anjou	3,556	6.0	45,582	77.2	3,105	5.3	5,102	8.6	1,735	2.9	59,080
Sainte-Marie	6,797	20.6	19,612	59.4	1,575	4.8	2,936	8.9	2,090	6.3	33,010
Saint-Michel	2,602	6.4	29,046	71.2	2,616	6.4	4,299	10.5	2,209	5.4	40,772
Vaudreuil	7,787	13.1	41,508	70.0	4,512	7.6	3,625	6.1	1,851	3.1	59,283
Verdun	4,908	11.7	30,178	72.2	2,299	5.5	2,301	5.5	2,086	5.0	41,772
Totals	116,176	10.9	752,271	69.7	65,526	6.1	86,478	8.2	42,583	5.0	1,069,849
Province Totals	432,199	13.5	1,975,526	61.7	163,492	5.1	512,995	16.0	102,554	3.7	3,204,099
Rejected											48,988
Total Vote Cast											3,253,087 ¹

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (75)

Rhino	=	61,890	58
UP	=	19,514 ¹	70
None	=	17,333	4
Ind.	=	9,289	9
M.-L.	=	7,419	51
Comm.	=	2,458	17
Libert.	=	1,984	7

¹Represents an increment of 70 votes for UP over that found in Table 5 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer*.

Table 8—18 Quebec—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Abitibi	1,982	4.6	22,050	51.1	2,553	5.9	14,881	34.5	1,724	4.0	43,190
Argenteuil	5,128	16.0	21,976	68.6	2,422	7.6	1,074	3.4	1,433	4.5	32,033
Beauce	819	1.9	21,647	50.9	404	0.9	18,734	44.0	938	2.2	42,542
Beauharnois—Salaberry	5,629	15.0	27,476	73.1	2,738	7.3	1,017	2.7	704	2.4	37,564
Bellechase	2,912	7.2	20,636	51.1	730	1.8	15,124	37.5	956	2.4	40,358
Berthier—Maskinonge	17,483	43.4	21,232	52.7			546	1.4	1,006	2.5	40,267
Blainville—Deux-Montagnes	3,448	7.1	35,979	74.0	5,460	11.2	1,699	3.5	2,029	4.2	48,615
Bonaventure— Iles-de-la-Madeleine	5,063	18.3	19,193	69.4	1,568	5.7	528	1.9	1,308	4.7	27,660
Chambly	4,655	9.9	32,849	69.9	5,868	12.5	1,580	3.4	2,069	4.4	47,021
Champlain	4,359	11.0	25,758	64.9	9,164	23.1			416	1.0	39,697
Charlesbourg	4,128	6.9	42,569	71.1	7,388	12.3	2,275	3.8	3,546	5.9	59,906
Charlevoix	5,679	18.2	22,130	70.7	1,273	4.1	1,021	3.3	1,177	3.8	31,280
Chateauguay	3,311	9.0	27,152	74.2	4,203	11.5	1,182	3.2	769	2.1	36,617
Chicoutimi	5,607	18.2	20,821	67.5	2,926	9.5	1,110	3.6	375	1.2	30,839
Drummond	5,265	14.7	26,082	72.8	2,305	6.4	1,916	5.3	277	0.8	35,845
Frontenac	4,922	15.3	14,745	45.9	1,693	5.3	10,328	32.1	441	1.4	32,129
Gaspé	9,604	32.6	17,846	60.5	1,018	3.5			1,014	3.4	29,482
Gatineau	3,134	7.0	35,437	78.6	4,792	10.6	975	2.2	731	1.6	45,069
Hull	2,167	5.3	27,938	68.1	10,059	24.5			842	2.1	41,006
Joliette	22,280	47.0	21,891	46.1	2,330	4.9	756	1.6	184	0.4	47,441
Jonquière	1,126	3.8	22,202	75.0	4,444	15.0	1,315	4.4	507	1.7	29,594
Kamouraska— Rivière-du-Loup	1,519	4.4	19,117	54.8			13,101	37.6	1,121	3.2	34,858
Labelle	9,829	22.2	29,488	66.5	2,858	6.4			2,137	4.8	44,312
Lac-Saint-Jean	4,608	13.7	21,267	63.3	3,465	10.3	2,821	8.4	1,411	4.2	33,572
Langelier	2,606	7.5	24,714	71.5	2,811	8.1	1,191	3.4	3,248	9.4	34,570
Laprairie	4,960	9.7	36,842	72.1	5,894	11.5	948	1.9	2,474	4.8	51,118
Levis	4,759	8.9	35,519	66.7	6,459	12.1	3,385	6.4	3,135	5.7	53,257
Longueuil	3,383	7.1	32,755	69.0	6,144	12.9	1,688	3.6	3,526	7.4	47,496
Lotbinière	9,117	21.7	24,780	59.1	3,041	7.3	3,707	8.8	1,280	3.1	41,925
Louis—Hebert	5,490	10.4	34,231	64.8	7,392	14.0	1,247	2.4	4,503	8.5	52,863
Manicouagan	4,844	15.5	21,499	68.6	2,111	6.7	1,184	3.8	1,681	5.4	31,319
Matapédia—Matane	3,095	11.4	21,116	77.8	888	3.3	1,137	4.2	892	3.3	27,128
Mégantic—Compton— Stanstead	10,336	27.4	21,562	57.2	1,769	4.7	3,023	8.0	1,002	2.7	37,692
Missisquoi	15,413	40.9	20,022	53.1	1,508	4.0			776	2.1	37,719
Montmorency	4,359	10.8	28,403	70.1	3,049	7.5	1,744	4.3	2,955	7.3	40,510
Pontiac—Gatineau—Labelle	5,151	16.8	21,605	70.4	2,813	9.2			1,125	3.7	30,694
Portneuf	2,905	7.3	29,234	73.9	3,285	8.3	2,320	5.9	1,838	4.6	39,582
Quebec-Est	2,577	6.8	27,546	73.0	3,327	8.8	1,998	5.3	2,280	6.0	37,728
Richelieu	8,155	19.9	27,886	68.2	3,004	7.3			1,872	4.6	40,917
Richmond	8,365	25.2	21,104	63.7	1,477	4.5	1,322	4.0	876	2.6	33,144
Rimouski	3,999	10.4	21,482	56.0	1,155	3.0	10,839	28.3	701	2.3	38,342
Roberval	507	1.5	17,724	51.9	569	1.7	14,832	43.5	503	1.5	34,135
Saint-Hyacinthe	10,033	23.9	28,130	67.0	2,257	5.4			1,588	3.8	42,008
Saint-Jean	4,410	10.6	30,134	72.1	5,194	12.4	929	2.2	1,118	2.7	41,785

Table 8–18 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saint-Maurice	2,516	7.1	27,356	76.7	1,963	5.5	2,369	6.6	1,462	4.1	35,666
Shefford	9,837	20.8	32,449	68.5	3,701	7.8			1,403	3.0	47,390
Sherbrooke	3,514	9.3	27,224	71.8	3,777	10.0	1,577	4.2	1,830	4.8	37,922
Temiscamingue	1,886	5.2	22,031	61.0	1,586	4.4	8,653	24.0	1,948	5.4	36,104
Terrebonne	4,807	9.1	36,089	68.4	6,817	12.9	2,839	5.4	2,208	4.2	52,760
Trois-Rivieres	4,482	12.9	23,791	68.5	3,870	11.1			2,598	7.5	34,741
Vercheres	5,653	10.3	37,393	68.1	7,015	12.8	1,514	2.8	3,302	6.0	54,877
Totals	281,816	13.9	1,330,102	65.7	172,537	8.5	160,429	7.9	79,405	3.9	2,024,289
Ile de Montreal et Ile Jesus											
Bourassa	3,182	7.9	30,924	76.5	5,144	12.7			1,180	2.9	40,430
Dollard	5,303	10.7	37,860	76.4	5,767	11.6			593	1.2	49,523
Duvernay	3,647	7.6	34,560	72.4	5,069	10.6	1,542	3.2	2,897	6.1	47,715
Gamelin	3,245	8.0	29,232	72.4	4,506	11.2	1,162	2.9	2,234	5.5	40,379
Hochelaga–Maisonneuve	1,977	6.9	21,138	73.4	2,732	9.5	873	3.1	2,094	7.3	28,814
Lachine	12,854	30.1	25,502	59.7	3,492	8.2			841	2.0	42,689
Lasalle	3,128	7.5	32,561	78.2	5,173	12.4			762	1.8	41,624
Laurier	1,572	6.5	16,201	66.7	2,216	9.1	534	2.2	3,780	15.6	24,303
Laval	3,715	7.3	38,580	75.3	5,709	11.1	1,110	2.2	2,092	4.1	51,206
Laval-des-Rapides	3,049	6.9	33,317	75.0	4,699	10.6	911	2.0	2,468	5.6	44,444
Mercier	3,161	8.1	27,428	70.5	4,258	11.0	1,891	4.9	2,142	5.5	38,880
Mount Royal	4,402	10.6	33,821	81.2	2,356	5.7			1,058	2.5	41,637
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	5,691	14.7	27,604	71.2	4,482	11.6			1,015	2.6	38,792
Outremont	2,355	7.3	23,004	71.5	3,996	12.4			2,824	8.8	32,179
Papineau	1,634	5.4	22,399	74.7	2,796	9.3	999	3.3	2,162	7.2	29,990
Rosemont	2,260	6.5	26,544	76.3	3,337	9.6	912	2.6	1,936	5.5	34,989
Saint-Denis	2,312	6.3	28,383	77.4	3,485	9.5	743	2.0	1,740	4.7	36,663
Saint-Henri–Westmount	6,669	18.1	24,907	67.5	3,766	10.2			1,563	4.2	36,905
Saint-Jacques	3,038	12.2	17,757	71.2	2,339	9.4			1,800	7.2	24,934
Saint-Leonard–Anjou	2,972	5.7	42,228	81.1	3,741	7.2	1,194	2.3	1,920	3.7	52,055
Sainte-Marie	3,576	12.8	19,160	68.5	2,443	8.7	605	2.2	2,189	7.8	27,973
Saint-Michel	2,059	5.7	27,210	75.5	3,422	9.5	1,079	3.0	2,280	6.3	36,050
Vaudreuil	6,277	11.6	39,159	72.6	7,309	13.5			1,226	2.3	53,971
Verdun	3,423	9.4	27,575	75.3	3,635	9.9	599	1.6	1,376	3.8	36,608
Totals	91,501	9.7	687,054	73.3	95,872	10.2	14,154	1.6	44,172	5.2	932,753
Province Totals	373,317	12.6	2,017,156	68.2	268,409	9.1	174,583	5.9	123,577	4.0	2,957,042
Rejected											37,160
Total Vote Cast											2,994,202

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (75)
Rhino	= 88,308	61
UP	= 14,474	54
M.-L.	= 7,265	62
None	= 6,942	21
Ind.	= 4,002	13
Libert.	= 1,584	7
Comm.	= 1,002	10

Table 8-19 Quebec—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Abitibi	23,230	52.0	12,525	28.0	3,583	8.0	1,179	2.6	4,189	9.4	44,706
Argenteuil—Papineau	21,105	55.9	12,096	32.1	2,671	7.1			1,862	4.9	37,734
Beauce	25,028	53.1	20,323	43.1	1,217	2.6			569	1.2	47,137
Beauharnois—Salaberry	27,614	63.1	11,395	26.0	2,720	6.2			2,014	4.6	43,743
Bellechase	24,357	57.8	14,500	34.4	1,666	4.0			1,588	3.8	42,111
Berthier—Maskinonge— Laudiniere	31,189	69.6	11,736	26.2	1,200	2.7			676	1.5	44,801
Blainville—Deux-Montagnes	28,863	47.1	23,732	38.7	5,609	9.2	255	0.4	2,787	4.6	61,426
Bonaventure— Iles-de-la-Madeleine	15,502	50.1	13,689	44.2	1,040	3.4			720	2.3	30,951
Brome—Missisquoi	21,678	53.1	15,693	38.4	2,271	5.6			1,209	3.0	40,851
Chambly	31,535	51.8	18,078	29.7	6,783	11.1			4,459	7.3	60,855
Champlain	27,467	60.0	14,459	31.6	3,124	6.8			723	1.6	45,773
Charlesbourg	37,592	52.4	22,637	31.6	7,301	10.2	469	0.7	3,729	5.2	71,728
Charlevoix	23,661	63.6	11,906	32.0	1,022	2.7			610	1.6	37,199
Chateauguay	21,318	46.6	17,313	37.8	5,083	11.1			2,038	4.5	45,752
Chicoutimi	22,304	60.8	10,736	29.3	2,211	6.0			1,427	3.9	36,678
Drummond	23,693	55.8	14,137	33.3	2,610	6.2	301	0.7	1,696	4.0	42,437
Frontenac	28,246	71.2	9,154	23.1	1,081	2.7			1,209	3.0	39,690
Gaspé	19,128	60.9	10,215	32.5	1,065	3.4			1,014	3.2	31,422
Gatineau	25,873	50.9	17,496	34.4	6,543	12.9			908	1.8	50,820
Hull—Aylmer	15,563	37.0	17,058	40.6	8,247	19.6			1,171	2.8	42,039
Joliette	38,839	73.9	9,006	17.1	2,186	4.2	200	0.4	2,316	4.4	52,547
Jonquiere	18,217	49.6	14,088	38.4	1,870	5.1			2,525	6.9	36,700
Kamouraska— Riviere-du-Loup	19,651	53.2	12,922	35.0	1,550	4.2			2,806	7.6	36,929
Labelle	28,286	55.6	14,465	28.4	4,670	9.2	274	0.5	3,197	6.3	50,892
Lac-Saint-Jean	25,270	61.8	12,683	31.0	2,132	5.2			813	2.0	40,898
Langelier	16,872	43.1	14,004	35.8	4,597	11.7	189	0.5	3,495	8.9	39,157
Laprairie	26,506	41.6	25,182	39.6	8,602	13.5			3,381	5.3	63,671
Levis	32,338	49.6	17,283	26.5	12,076	18.5	216	0.3	3,279	5.0	65,192
Longueuil	28,956	47.7	19,654	32.4	6,401	10.6			5,650	9.3	60,661
Lotbiniere	22,584	48.5	20,202	43.4	1,963	4.2			1,790	3.8	46,539
Louis—Hebert	29,420	46.0	22,592	35.3	7,548	11.8	184	0.3	4,262	6.7	64,006
Manicouagan	28,208	71.6	9,640	24.5	939	2.4			637	1.6	39,424
Matapedia—Matane	15,994	52.7	9,929	32.7	909	3.0			3,523	11.6	30,355
Megantic—Compton— Stanstead	25,679	60.0	13,123	30.6	2,690	6.3	399	0.9	932	2.2	42,823
Montmorency—Orleans	22,753	47.0	19,226	39.7	3,931	8.1	288	0.6	2,185	4.5	48,383
Pontiac—Gatineau—Labelle	21,754	62.0	10,025	28.6	2,667	7.6			665	1.9	35,111
Portneuf	23,797	51.1	17,687	38.0	3,012	6.5	248	0.5	1,860	4.0	46,604
Quebec-Est	19,782	48.1	14,332	34.9	4,189	10.2	239	0.6	2,569	6.2	41,111
Richelieu	28,747	59.2	14,933	30.8	2,174	4.5	202	0.4	2,484	5.1	48,540
Richmond—Wolfe	13,835	39.4	18,069	51.4	1,638	4.7	273	0.8	1,339	3.8	35,154
Rimouski—Temiscouata	25,516	59.8	14,234	33.4	1,250	2.9			1,656	3.9	42,656
Roberval	22,981	61.8	12,917	34.8	837	2.3			422	1.1	37,157
Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot	22,984	47.3	21,394	44.1	2,196	4.5			1,971	4.1	48,545
Saint-Jean	30,769	59.8	14,823	28.8	3,642	7.1			2,256	4.4	51,490
Saint-Maurice	14,468	35.4	24,050	58.9	1,433	3.5			892	2.2	40,843

Table 8-19 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Shefford	23,028	42.9	25,483	47.5	3,569	6.7			1,552	2.9	53,632
Sherbrooke	22,232	51.5	14,607	33.8	4,230	9.8	197	0.5	1,905	4.4	43,171
Temiscamingue	20,347	50.2	13,756	34.0	2,189	5.4	626	1.5	3,583	8.8	40,501
Terrebonne	43,822	60.3	19,040	26.2	6,454	8.9			3,352	4.6	72,668
Trois-Rivieres	26,843	63.9	10,217	24.3	1,947	4.6			2,975	7.1	41,982
Vercheres	38,690	56.0	19,365	28.0	6,534	9.5			4,478	6.5	69,067
Totals	1,274,114	53.9	797,809	33.7	177,072	7.5	5,739	0.2	109,348	4.6	2,364,082
Ile de Montreal et Ile Jesus											
Bourassa	18,703	40.6	20,221	43.9	3,741	8.1	236	0.5	3,116	6.8	46,017
Dollard	26,076	45.9	21,451	37.7	6,619	11.6			2,710	4.8	56,856
Duvernay	29,877	50.4	18,465	31.1	5,013	8.4	174	0.3	5,802	9.8	59,331
Gamelin	20,870	44.5	17,491	37.3	4,730	10.1			3,788	8.1	46,879
Hochelaga-Maisonneuve	13,244	41.2	12,201	38.0	3,596	11.2			3,098	9.6	32,139
Lachine	24,301	51.7	15,156	32.2	5,628	12.0			1,964	4.2	47,049
Lasalle	23,238	46.7	19,418	39.1	4,755	9.6			2,314	4.7	49,725
Laurier	7,720	28.7	9,302	34.6	4,595	17.1	194	0.7	5,087	18.9	26,898
Laval	30,696	47.6	23,002	35.7	8,158	12.7			2,630	4.1	64,486
Laval-des-Rapides	20,420	39.3	22,789	43.9	5,215	10.0			3,492	6.7	51,916
Montreal-Mercier	25,071	46.4	19,335	35.8	4,925	9.1			4,749	8.8	54,080
Montreal-Sainte-Marie	10,919	34.7	13,668	43.4	3,525	11.2			3,397	10.8	31,509
Mount Royal	18,707	39.1	22,716	47.5	4,735	9.9			1,696	3.5	47,854
Notre-Dame-de-Grace-											
Lachine-Est	15,845	38.4	17,910	43.4	5,772	14.0			1,711	4.1	41,238
Outremont	10,383	29.3	14,508	40.9	6,687	18.9			3,880	10.9	35,458
Papineau	12,053	36.9	12,754	39.0	4,295	13.1	147	0.4	3,458	10.6	32,707
Rosemont	15,782	42.2	14,477	38.7	4,054	10.8	143	0.4	2,921	7.8	37,377
Saint-Denis	12,122	31.3	18,750	48.4	4,581	11.8			3,257	8.4	38,710
Saint-Henri-Westmount	14,168	35.2	18,244	45.3	5,889	14.6			1,980	4.9	40,281
Saint-Jacques	10,291	37.5	10,875	39.6	4,057	14.8			2,210	8.1	27,433
Saint-Leonard-Anjou	23,275	39.3	24,520	41.4	7,506	12.7			3,931	6.6	59,232
Saint-Michel-Ahuntsic	15,444	38.0	17,269	42.5	4,875	12.0			3,064	7.5	40,652
Vaudreuil	37,499	54.5	20,362	29.6	7,993	11.6			2,971	4.3	68,825
Verdun-Saint-Paul	17,378	43.5	16,431	41.2	3,912	9.8			2,206	5.5	39,927
Totals	454,082	42.2	421,315	39.1	124,856	11.6	894	0.1	75,432	7.0	1,076,579
Province Totals	1,728,196	50.2	1,219,124	35.4	301,928	8.8	6,633	0.2	184,780 ²	5.4	3,440,661
Rejected											45,455
Total Vote Cast											3,485,376 ¹

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (75)	Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (75)
PNQ	= 86,305	75	G.P.	= 2,815	3
Rhino	= 82,807	53	Libert.	= 1,709	6
Comm'lth.	= 5,162	46	Comm.	= 1,632	11
Ind.	= 3,189 ²	9	None	= 860 ²	6

¹Table 5 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* shows an aggregate total vote for other parties and for total vote cast of 439 more votes, as revealed by the analysis by riding, drawn from section IV of the *Report*.

²Table 5 of the *Report* shows 233 fewer votes for Independents, while the analysis by riding shows 233 more votes. These votes have likely been counted as "None" in Table 5, which shows 1,093 votes for this category.

Table 8–20 Quebec—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Abitibi	22,254	57.6	6,251	16.2	10,161	26.3					38,666
Argenteuil–Papineau	23,076	56.4	11,088	27.1	5,772	14.1			959	2.3	40,895
Beauce	36,212	68.7	13,641	25.9	2,856	5.4					52,709
Beauharnois–Salaberry	29,149	58.4	13,351	26.7	5,937	11.9			1,500	3.0	49,937
Bellechasse	27,621	65.0	11,120	26.2	2,762	6.5			1,010	2.4	42,513
Berthier–Montcalm	29,370	56.3	13,524	25.9	5,883	11.3			3,376	6.5	52,153
Blainville–Deux-Montagnes	40,810	62.0	13,787	21.0	9,243	14.1			1,932	2.9	65,772
Bonaventure– Iles-de-la-Madeleine	15,491	58.6	9,398	35.6	1,546	5.8					26,435
Brome–Missisquoi	22,540	54.0	13,733	32.9	5,489	13.1					41,762
Chambly	25,770	47.0	10,886	19.9	17,268	31.5			856	1.6	54,780
Champlain	29,788	64.7	7,471	16.2	8,792	19.1					46,051
Charlesbourg	35,549	60.1	15,727	26.6	7,914	13.4					59,190
Charlevoix	33,730	80.0	5,994	14.2	1,819	4.3			600	1.4	42,143
Chateauguay	22,439	44.8	16,422	32.8	8,282	16.5			2,974	5.9	50,117
Chicoutimi	30,699	70.4	8,047	18.4	4,870	11.2					43,616
Drummond	23,838	53.5	15,459	34.7	5,226	11.7					44,523
Frontenac	25,872	73.6	6,978	19.9	1,785	5.1			511	1.5	35,146
Gaspé	16,298	57.3	9,912	34.9	1,504	5.3			710	2.5	28,424
Gatineau–La Lievre	21,385	39.4	23,507	43.3	8,384	15.4			1,026	1.9	54,302
Hull–Aylmer	14,849	31.9	23,218	49.8	7,170	15.4			1,354	2.9	46,591
Joliette	27,908	55.1	12,573	24.8	7,232	14.3			2,948	5.8	50,661
Jonquière	21,523	63.6	5,264	15.6	7,029	20.8					33,816
Kamouraska– Rivière-du-Loup	20,388	58.5	10,353	29.7	3,257	9.3			877	2.5	34,875
Lac-Saint-Jean	23,112	66.3	5,383	15.4	6,348	18.2					34,843
Langelier	24,555	46.6	14,843	28.2	10,586	20.1			2,654	5.0	52,638
La Prairie	30,834	53.0	19,497	33.5	6,228	10.7			1,564	2.7	58,123
Laurentides	31,000	55.2	15,752	28.0	7,755	13.8			1,657	3.0	56,164
Levis	33,673	57.4	13,002	22.2	11,501	19.6	445	0.8			58,621
Longueuil	29,054	53.3	12,328	22.6	10,681	19.6			2,476	4.5	54,539
Lotbinière	26,585	52.7	15,067	29.9	8,782	17.4					50,434
Louis-Hebert	37,329	59.8	15,469	24.8	8,139	13.0			1,515	2.4	62,452
Manicouagan	17,126	61.7	6,355	22.9	4,008	14.4			281	1.0	27,770
Matapédia–Matane	15,962	50.2	11,584	36.4	4,253	13.4				-	31,799
Mégantic–Compton– Stanstead	23,246	60.3	11,566	30.0	3,195	8.3	550	1.4			38,557
Montmorency–Orleans	29,604	60.6	11,199	22.9	7,409	15.2			656	1.3	48,868
Pontiac–Gatineau–Labelle	20,522	53.6	11,589	30.2	6,207	16.2					38,318
Portneuf	21,810	56.9	10,326	26.9	4,701	12.3			1,491	3.9	38,328
Quebec-Est	29,493	55.7	13,732	25.9	7,555	14.3			2,151	4.1	52,931
Richelieu	32,104	68.9	8,979	19.3	3,154	6.8			2,353	5.1	46,590
Richmond–Wolfe	19,451	47.5	16,813	41.0	3,918	9.6			790	1.9	40,972
Rimouski–Temiscouata	23,789	62.6	10,561	27.8	2,417	6.4			1,210	3.2	37,977
Roberval	26,717	76.4	4,219	12.1	3,318	9.5			723	2.1	34,977
Saint-Hubert	25,573	48.9	15,209	29.1	9,435	18.0			2,072	4.0	52,289
Saint-Hyacinthe–Bagot	25,267	52.6	16,284	33.9	6,442	13.4					47,993
Saint-Jean	27,685	56.3	14,643	29.8	5,786	11.8			1,084	2.2	49,198

Table 8-20 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saint-Maurice	18,741	45.3	10,168	24.6	12,463	30.1					41,372
Shefford	21,445	43.2	23,943	48.2	4,242	8.5					49,630
Sherbrooke	34,538	63.3	12,314	22.6	6,373	11.7			1,331	2.4	54,556
Temiscamingue	19,106	46.3	5,843	14.2	15,623	37.8			712	1.7	41,284
Terrebonne	35,345	52.8	12,422	18.5	7,194	10.7			12,037	18.0	66,998
Trois-Rivieres	29,370	68.9	6,727	15.8	5,470	12.8			1,075	2.5	42,642
Vercheres	32,316	66.0	8,486	17.3	6,771	13.8			1,358	2.8	48,931
Totals	1,361,911	56.9	632,007	26.4	340,135	14.2	995	0.0	59,823	2.5	2,394,871
Ile de Montreal et Ile Jesus											
Ahuntsic	21,705	42.4	21,035	41.1	5,632	11.0			2,789	5.5	51,161
Anjou-Riviere-des-Prairies	27,451	51.5	17,421	32.7	6,687	12.6			1,700	3.2	53,259
Bourassa	18,979	43.3	18,159	41.5	4,797	11.0	178	0.4	1,669	3.8	43,782
Duvernay	33,426	60.7	12,607	22.9	8,147	14.8	480	0.9	368	0.7	55,028
Hochelaga-Maisonneuve	16,246	39.1	14,198	34.2	8,583	20.6			2,543	6.1	41,570
Lachine-Lac-Saint-Louis	25,870	45.4	25,136	44.1	4,518	7.9			1,512	2.7	57,036
LaSalle-Emard	21,979	42.7	23,394	45.5	5,458	10.6			634	1.2	51,465
Laurier-Sainte-Marie	12,113	29.7	15,956	39.1	8,828	21.6			3,943	9.7	40,840
Laval	26,858	49.1	18,819	34.4	8,546	15.6			468	0.9	54,691
Laval-des-Rapides	27,955	53.7	14,926	28.7	7,397	14.2			1,737	3.3	52,015
Mercier	30,803	54.8	12,908	23.0	10,238	18.2			2,243	4.0	56,192
Mount Royal	14,601	32.0	27,353	59.9	2,455	5.4			1,290	2.8	45,699
Notre-Dame-de-Grace	11,703	27.9	22,928	54.6	5,154	12.3			2,229	5.3	42,014
Outremont	17,597	38.4	15,895	34.7	9,379	20.5			2,919	6.4	45,790
Papineau-Saint-Michel	13,094	33.2	18,122	46.0	5,948	15.1			2,236	5.7	39,400
Pierrefonds-Dollard	27,532	49.8	22,244	40.2	3,854	7.0			1,687	3.0	55,317
Rosemont	17,125	37.8	13,209	29.2	9,163	20.2	148	0.3	5,614	12.4	45,259
Saint-Denis	12,843	30.4	19,925	47.2	6,201	14.7	269	0.6	3,011	7.1	42,249
Saint-Henri-Westmount	15,673	39.3	16,602	41.6	5,218	13.1			2,394	6.0	39,887
Saint-Laurent	18,287	41.5	20,418	46.3	4,213	9.6			1,196	2.7	44,114
Saint-Leonard	17,055	37.2	23,014	50.3	4,663	10.2			1,064	2.3	45,796
Vaudreuil	30,392	55.7	16,393	30.0	6,185	11.3			1,626	3.0	54,596
Verdun-Saint-Paul	20,113	45.3	15,207	34.3	6,572	14.8			2,488	5.6	44,380
Totals	479,400	43.5	425,869	38.7	147,836	13.4	1,075	0.1	47,360	4.3	1,101,540
Province Totals	1,841,311	52.7	1,057,876	30.3	487,971	14.0	2,070	0.1	107,183	3.1	3,496,411
Rejected											61,466
Total Vote Cast											3,557,877

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (75)

Rhino	=	41,195	39
GP	=	31,975	29
None	=	13,428	30
Ind.	=	12,721	6
Com'lth.	=	4,378	29
Comm.	=	2,103	11
Libert.	=	1,028	4
CHP	=	355	1

Table 8–21 Quebec Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1985

Province	Conservative/Union Nationale ¹				Parti Liberal du Quebec				CCF/NDP ²			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
November 25, 1935	17	18.9	103,596	19.3	47	52.2	249,586	46.5				
August 17, 1936	76	84.4	323,812	56.9	14	15.6	224,344	39.4			1,469	0.
October 25, 1939	14	16.3	217,413	38.6	69	80.2	301,631	53.5			2,513	0.
August 8, 1944	48	52.7	505,651	38.0	37	40.7	523,316	39.3	1	1.1	33,986	2.
July 28, 1948	82	89.1	775,747	51.2	8	8.7	547,478	36.2			9,016	0.
June 16, 1952	68	73.9	855,327	50.9	23	25.0	768,539	45.8			16,039	1.
June 20, 1956	72	77.4	956,082	51.8	20	21.5	827,268	44.8			11,232	0.
June 22, 1960	42	44.2	977,318	46.6	52	54.7	1,077,135	51.4				
November 14, 1962	31	32.6	900,817	42.2	63	66.3	1,205,253	56.4				
June 5, 1966	56	51.9	948,928	40.8	50	46.3	1,099,435	47.3				
April 29, 1970	17	15.7	564,544	19.7	72	66.7	1,304,341	45.4			4,374	0.
October 29, 1973			146,209	4.9	102	92.7	1,623,734	54.7				
November 15, 1976	11	10.0	611,678	18.2	26	23.6	1,134,997	33.8				
April 13, 1981			144,070	4.0	42	34.4	1,658,743	46.1				
December 2, 1985			7,759	0.2	99	81.1	1,910,307	56.0			82,588	2.
Totals and Means	534	35.5		32.2	724	48.1		42.7	1	0.1		0.

¹Union Nationale, 1936–1960.

²CCF through 1960.

³Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Significant Minor Party				Other ³					
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Total	
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Seats	Votes
Action Liberale Nationale									
25	27.8	156,078	29.1	1	1.1	27,101	5.1	90	536,361
						19,670	3.5	90	569,265
		25,523	4.5	3	3.5	16,217	2.9	86	563,297
Bloc Populaire Canadien									
4	4.4	191,564	14.4	1	1.1	75,432	5.7	91	1,329,949
Union des Electors									
		140,036	9.2	2	2.2	41,700	2.8	92	1,513,977
				1	1.1	39,358	2.3	92	1,679,263
				1	1.1	51,147	2.8	93	1,845,729
				1	1.1	42,144	2.0	95	2,096,597
				1	1.1	30,896	1.4	95	2,136,966
Rassemblement Independance Nationale									
		129,045	5.6	2	1.9	147,481	6.3	108	2,324,889
Parti Quebecois									
7	6.5	662,404	23.1	12	11.1	337,307	11.7	108	2,872,970
6	5.5	897,809	30.2	2	1.8	303,226	10.2	110	2,970,978
71	64.5	1,390,363	41.4	2	1.8	223,189	6.6	122	3,360,227
80	65.6	1,773,237	49.3			24,015	0.7	122	3,600,065
23	18.9	1,320,008	38.7			90,945	2.7	122	3,411,607
216	14.4		16.4	29	1.9		1.9	1,504	

The largest of the provinces in population, Ontario plays a dominant role in federal elections. Typically, Ontario has roughly a third of all the seats in Commons, so that the outcomes of its contests in the Commons can be critical to control of the government.¹ In these elections there tends to be a notable level of competition between the two major parties, with a rather high degree of alternation of party control. Its provincial elections show more of a tendency toward Progressive Conservative control, with a strong showing by the CCF/NDP, especially in recent years. Yet, despite this, it has been described as “a pure three-party system.”²

In terms of the criteria offered—parties which are electorally strong, any of which could conceivably win any given election—we might adopt this characterization for Ontario’s voting in federal elections as well. In fact, it might be even more appropriate at the federal level. As the data show, an absolute majority of the Ontario electorate has been received only twice in the 17 elections we consider. The first was in 1940, echoing (as well as contributing to) the Liberals winning the first national majority since 1911. The second was in the 1958 Diefenbaker landslide, when the Progressive Conservatives swept to what was (until 1984) the single greatest margin in Commons ever given any party.

Clearly, this absence of majorities in Ontario’s elections is a consequence of its continuing three-party nature. This does not mean that any of the three parties can expect to win a particular election. Only the Tories (5 times) and the Liberals (10 times) have been able to win an absolute majority of the seats in federal elections. At that, it seems somewhat remarkable that majorities could be achieved so often, especially since the CCF/NDP has been able to average

16.1 percent of the popular vote in this time. The effects of maldistribution of votes have limited this party’s effectiveness in terms of translating votes into seats. Thus, while it may enjoy scattered support, its greatest chances of winning appear to be “in urban and/or heavily unionized constituencies” in Metropolitan Toronto and Northern Ontario.³ In recent elections the NDP has enjoyed scattered success, winning 11 seats in 1972, then declining in 1974, declining again in 1979, and again in 1980. The results of the 1984 election placed it only one seat behind the Liberals in Ontario, supplying almost half of the national total of 13 for the NDP. The 1988 election saw something of a restoration of the normal level of competition among the three parties, as the NDP won 10 seats and the Tories and Liberals narrowly divided the remainder on a close popular vote.

Parties besides the Progressive Conservatives, Liberals, and NDP have not fared at all well in Ontario. Social Credit hit its high-water mark in 1963 and fielded only one candidate in 1988. The last four of the five elected candidates representing “other” parties have been Independents. Yet even this must be qualified somewhat. In 1968 and 1972 Lucien Lamoureux was elected as an Independent, but he was running outside his normal party affiliation. He had been elected in 1962, 1963, and 1965 as a Liberal, ran in 1968 with only token opposition from the NDP, and ran again in 1972 without opposition from the Liberals. Ontario also supplied the only Independent in Commons as a result of the 1984 election.

Even though a majority of seats have been won by either the Tories or the Liberals in all but one of the elections, Ontario is a remarkably competitive province. More than 43 percent of

its elections have been decided by margins of less than 10 percent, while less than 20 percent have been decided by margins of 25 percent or more. In only two elections, the 1958 and 1984 Tory landslides, have an appreciable number been decided by these wide margins.

Despite its apparent three-party nature, in its provincial elections the Tories were dominant for almost four decades, forming a majority government following all but 5 of the 14 elections we examine. The first of these was the 1937 election, when the Liberals had their strongest electoral showing, winning 70 percent of the seats and coming the closest of any of the parties to gaining a majority of the popular vote in this period. The second was in 1943, when they first gained control of the government through a coalition, as they did again in 1975 and 1977.⁴ Finally, following a period of minority government,⁵ they won a plurality of the seats in 1985, but lost control for the first time to the Liberals who had formed an agreement with the NDP that the latter party

would support the Liberals on no-confidence votes for a two-year period during which time the government promised not to call an election. This left the NDP free, as an opposition party, to vote with the Conservatives on individual Liberal initiatives.⁶

Williams had earlier suggested that the provincial and federal electoral arenas in Ontario "are characterized by an entrenched, pragmatic (but not overwhelmingly popular) 'government party' which persists through the inability of its opponents to combine effectively against it."⁷ The 1985 provincial election thus represents the first time since 1943 that we can find an exception to this analysis. In the subsequent 1987 election the Liberals were able to continue and

expand upon their previous success, winning 95 of the 130 seats with slightly less than half the popular vote. The NDP moved from membership in the ruling coalition to become the official Opposition, with 19 seats. The Tories, so long in power, were reduced to only 16 seats, on the basis of less than a quarter of the popular vote. (see tables 9–1 through 9–21)

Notes

1. For an overview of Ontario's two electoral systems, see Robert J. Williams, "Ontario's Party Systems: Federal and Provincial," in Hugh G. Thorburn, ed., *Party Politics in Canada*, 5th ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1985), pp. 303–18.
2. John Wilson and David Hoffman, "Ontario—A Three-Party System in Transition," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 199. A more recent assessment which concurs with this conclusion is Norman Penner, "Ontario: The Dominant Province," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics* (2d ed.; Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), esp. pp. 210–19.
3. Robert J. Williams, "Ontario's Party Systems: Federal and Provincial," in Thorburn, ed., *Party Politics in Canada*, 5th ed., p. 308.
4. For reviews of this extraordinary period of Tory domination, see Jonathan Manthorpe, *The Power and the Tories: Ontario Politics 1943 to the Present* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), and Fred Schindeler, *Responsible Government in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969). An entrenched minority party can find itself with little to do. See Lawrence LeDuc and Walter L. White, "The Role of Opposition in a One-Party Dominant System: The Case of Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 7 (March 1974), 86–100, and John Wilson and David Hoffman, "The Liberal Party in Contemporary Ontario Politics," *CJPS* 3 (June 1970), 177–204.
5. For a review of this period, see Vaughn Lyon, "Minority Government in Ontario: 1975–1981," *CJPS* 17 (December 1984), 687–705.
6. Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), p. 304.
7. Williams, op. cit., p. 311.

Table 9-1 Ontario—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	25	30.5	562,513	35.3	56	68.3	680,417	42.7			127,927	8.
1940	25	30.5	687,816	42.7	57	69.5	818,154	50.8			61,166	3.
1945	48	58.5	756,762	41.7	34	41.5	745,571	41.1			260,502	14.
1949	25	30.1	757,210	37.4	56	67.5	924,231	45.7	1	1.2	306,551	15.
1953	33	38.8	772,691	40.3	51	60.0	898,476	46.9	1	1.2	212,224	11.
1957	61	71.8	1,104,024	48.8	21	24.7	839,894	37.1	3	3.5	274,069	12.
1958	67	78.8	1,413,730	56.4	15	17.6	815,524	32.6	3	3.5	262,120	10.
1962	35	41.2	1,056,095	39.3	44	51.8	1,122,222	41.8	6	7.1	456,459	17.
1963	27	31.8	979,359	35.3	52	61.2	1,286,791	46.3	6	7.1	442,340	15.
1965	25	29.4	933,753	34.0	51	60.0	1,196,308	43.6	9	10.6	594,112	21.
1968	17	19.3	942,979	32.0	64	72.7	1,372,903	46.6	6	6.8	607,011	20.
1972	40	45.5	1,399,148	39.1	36	40.9	1,366,922	38.2	11	12.5	768,076	21.
1974	25	28.4	1,252,082	35.1	55	62.5	1,609,786	45.1	8	9.1	680,113	19.
1979	57	60.0	1,732,717	41.8	32	33.7	1,509,926	36.4	6	6.3	873,182	21.
1980	38	40.0	1,420,436	35.5	52	54.7	1,675,519	41.9	5	5.3	874,229	21.
1984	67	70.5	2,113,187	47.6	14	14.7	1,323,835	29.8	13	13.7	921,504	20.
1988	46	46.5	1,788,118	38.2	43	43.4	1,819,087	38.9	10	10.1	940,121	20.
Totals and Means	661	44.4		40.0	733	49.3		41.5	88	5.9		16.

¹CCF through 1958. ²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 9-2 Ontario—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Chang- ing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	82	80	21	1	33	81	23	33		50								97	1	1		308	34
1940	82	82	18	7	7	82	49	8	7	24				1				13		1		202	15
1945	82	82	25	23		82	34		23	80				8				33				285	23
1949 ²	83	83	26		22	83	32	21	1	76		1		5				19		1		266	23
1953 ³	85	85	19	11	2	84	44	2	11	65	1			9				35				278	13
1957	85	85	32	29		85	21		31	60		3	1	40				6				276	32
1958	85	85	61	6		85	15		6	63	3			18				10				261	6
1962	85	85	34		33	85	15	30		81	3	3		70				7				328	33
1963	85	85	25	2	9	85	43	9	2	80	5	1	1	67				13				330	12
1965	85	85	22	2	5	85	47	5	5	84	5	4	1	19				17				290	11
1968 ⁴	88	88	10	2	3	88	31	6	3	88	3		3	3				20		1		287	9
1972	88	88	17	23		88	36		28	88	6	5		25				13	1			302	28
1974	88	88	25		15	88	36	19		88	8		3	19				96		1		379	19
1979 ⁵	95	95	16	25		95	28		23	95	6		1	5				116				406	25
1980	95	95	38		19	95	32	20		95	3	2	3	5				170				460	22
1984	95	95	37	30	1	95	14		38	95	5	8		6				131		1		422	39
1988 ⁶	99	99	30		17	98	11	23		99	5	2	5	1				207		1		496	25
Totals	1,487	1,481	456	161	166	1,484	511	176	178	1,311	53	29	18	301				1,003	2	3	4	5,576	339

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 79 seats which are comparable to the previous election; ²81 seats; ³77 seats; ⁴53 seats; ⁵81 seats; ⁶71 seats.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
				1	1.2	223,390	14.0	82	1,594,247
		786	0.1			41,492	2.6	82	1,609,414
		3,906	0.2			48,226	2.7	82	1,814,967
		3,225	0.2	1	1.2	30,957	1.5	83	2,022,174
		5,427	0.3			26,602	1.4	85	1,915,420
		38,418	1.7			8,166	0.4	85	2,264,571
		8,386	0.3			4,753	0.2	85	2,504,513
		49,734	1.9			3,135	0.1	85	2,687,645
		56,276	2.0			11,896	0.4	85	2,776,662
		10,995	0.4			8,615	0.3	85	2,743,783
				1	1.1	25,599	0.9	88	2,948,492
		12,937	0.4	1	1.1	30,969	0.9	88	3,578,052
		6,575	0.2			16,981	0.5	88	3,565,537
		1,002	0			26,168	0.6	95	4,142,995
		804	0			29,853	0.7	95	4,000,841
		865	0	1	1.1	76,020	1.7	95	4,435,411
		168	0			133,605	2.9	99	4,681,099
		0.4		5	0.3		1.9	1,487	

Table 9-3 Ontario—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
1935	19	20	15	9	10	9	82
1940	16	18	21	8	9	10	82
1945	18	24	11	9	7	13	82
1949	24	18	20	3	6	12	83
1953	19	17	17	12	3	17	85
1957	8	18	10	10	15	24	85
1958	11	7	5	6	5	51	85
1962	25	16	17	10	5	12	85
1963	24	14	8	16	8	15	85
1965	20	15	13	11	12	14	85
1968	18	26	12	11	10	11	88
1972	27	15	13	16	9	8	88
1974	11	25	16	8	14	14	88
1979	24	15	20	11	6	19	95
1980	29	19	18	15	7	7	95
1984	14	14	13	6	9	39	95
1988	43	17	14	9	6	10	99
Totals	350	298	243	170	141	285	1,487
Means	23.5	20.0	16.3	11.4	9.5	19.2	

Table 9–4 Ontario—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	2,541	24.1	5,816	55.1	1,362	12.9			833	7.9	10,552
Algoma West	4,844	32.9	7,968	54.1	1,669	11.3			252	1.7	14,733
Brant	3,587	37.2	4,294	44.5	494	5.1			1,277	13.2	9,652
Brantford City	6,511	39.0	7,383	44.2	1,618	9.7			1,202	7.2	16,714
Bruce	5,149	34.4	6,831	45.7					2,973	19.9	14,953
Carleton	6,872	42.4	5,919	36.5					3,431	21.2	16,222
Cochrane			12,719	65.0	3,247	16.6			3,597	18.4	19,563
Dufferin–Simcoe	8,150	52.3	4,767	30.6					2,657	17.1	15,574
Durham	6,176	44.6	6,649	48.0	497	3.6			531	3.8	13,853
Elgin	9,508	42.1	11,295	50.0					1,793	7.9	22,596
Essex East	6,493	33.7	7,562	39.3	4,106	21.3			1,102	5.7	19,263
Essex South	4,889	37.5	5,592	42.9					2,563	19.6	13,044
Essex West	8,150	31.0	11,033	42.0	5,241	20.0			1,837	7.0	26,261
Fort William	4,565	33.1	5,481	39.7	1,635	11.9			2,108	15.3	13,789
Frontenac–Addington	6,831	47.4	7,250	50.3					345	2.4	14,426
Glengarry	3,202	36.4	4,548	51.7					1,052	12.0	8,802
Grenville–Dundas	8,936	52.2	6,581	38.4					1,615	9.4	17,132
Grey–Bruce	5,100	28.3	5,727	31.8					7,210	40.0	18,037
Grey North	6,740	37.8	8,060	45.2	1,221	6.9			1,792	10.1	17,813
Haldimand	5,750	50.7	5,031	44.4					554	4.9	11,335
Halton	5,146	39.0	6,177	46.8					1,876	14.2	13,199
Hamilton East	10,078	35.9			4,506	16.1			13,485	48.0	28,069
Hamilton West	7,857	33.6	8,251	35.3	2,203	9.4			5,065	21.7	23,376
Hastings–Peterborough	4,619	36.0	5,671	44.2					2,552	19.9	12,842
Hastings South	9,572	46.8	9,982	48.9					879	4.3	20,433
Huron North	5,925	42.3	6,508	46.5					1,572	11.2	14,005
Huron–Perth	3,001	27.8	6,260	58.0					1,530	14.2	10,791
Kenora–Rainy River	2,837	19.4	8,271	56.6	2,169	14.9			1,326	9.1	14,603
Kent			11,281	59.8					7,588	40.2	18,869
Kingston City	5,979	45.1	6,897	52.1	373	2.8					13,249
Lambton–Kent	5,064	33.4	6,744	44.5					3,349	22.1	15,157
Lambton West	4,636	30.8	8,335	55.3					2,094	13.9	15,065
Lanark	8,043	45.5	7,381	41.8					2,252	12.7	17,676
Leeds	9,487	49.6	8,737	45.7					892	4.7	19,116
Lincoln	11,398	43.7	11,135	42.7	1,224	4.7			2,349	9.0	26,106
London	10,911	36.2	8,628	28.7	3,041	10.1			7,524	25.0	30,104
Middlesex East	5,602	35.3	7,151	45.0	1,306	8.2			1,827	11.5	15,886
Middlesex West	3,382	29.0	6,369	54.6					1,920	16.5	11,671
Muskoka–Ontario	7,326	42.3	8,183	47.2	614	3.5			1,215	7.0	17,338
Nipissing	7,991	24.0	20,114	60.4	2,236	6.7			2,938	8.8	33,279
Norfolk	4,390	30.5	7,623	52.9	285	2.0			2,113	14.7	14,411
Northumberland	6,842	41.5	8,609	52.2	162	1.0			869	5.3	16,482
Ontario	7,300	35.1	10,228	49.2	1,847	8.9			1,412	6.8	20,787
Ottawa East	3,701	14.3	16,598	64.1					5,578	21.6	25,877
Ottawa West	15,219	34.4	21,503	48.6					7,484	16.9	44,206
Oxford	8,655	36.2	11,438	47.8	886	3.7			2,953	12.3	23,932
Parry Sound	3,965	34.7	6,230	54.5					1,245	10.9	11,440
Peel	7,132	44.7	6,962	43.6	1,036	6.5			842	5.3	15,972

Table 9-4 (Continued)

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Perth	7,551	32.1	12,766	54.2	1,211	5.1			2,016	8.6	23,544
Peterborough West	6,342	33.5	8,027	42.4	1,489	7.9			3,071	16.2	18,929
Port Arthur	2,807	22.6	6,591	53.0	1,357	10.9			1,680	13.5	12,435
Prescott	1,614	14.3	6,034	53.5					3,620	32.1	11,268
Prince Edward-Lennox	7,411	49.4	6,771	45.1					829	5.5	15,011
Renfrew North	4,134	34.1	6,052	49.9					1,949	16.1	12,135
Renfrew South	3,440	28.9	6,054	50.9					2,395	20.1	11,889
Russell	1,368	11.8	5,041	43.5					5,182	44.7	11,591
Simcoe East	5,529	34.0	8,219	50.5	1,191	7.3			1,345	8.3	16,284
Simcoe North	5,290	36.6	7,244	50.1	608	4.2			1,324	9.2	14,466
Stormont	6,655	39.5	9,233	54.7					980	5.8	16,868
Timiskaming	5,456	34.7	5,905	37.6	4,185	26.6			168	1.1	15,714
Victoria	8,174	48.2	8,234	48.5					558	3.3	16,966
Waterloo North	4,084	20.2	12,832	63.4	3,313	16.4					20,229
Waterloo South	6,731	40.2	6,606	39.4	2,426	14.5			1,000	6.0	16,763
Welland	11,850	34.6	17,324	50.6	3,836	11.2			1,200	3.5	34,210
Wellington North	4,485	35.0	7,063	55.1					1,276	10.0	12,824
Wellington South	5,854	34.7	8,840	52.4	1,578	9.4			592	3.5	16,864
Wentworth	9,958	33.0	9,740	32.3	4,513	14.9			5,978	19.8	30,189
York East	11,634	34.8	8,922	26.7	7,864	23.5			5,029	15.0	33,449
York North	5,296	26.7	9,638	48.5	1,124	5.7			3,795	19.1	19,853
York South	11,596	37.4	7,059	22.8	8,247	26.6			4,113	13.3	31,015
York West	8,138	31.7	8,198	31.9	5,049	19.6			4,319	16.8	25,704
Totals	445,449	34.4	584,165	45.1	90,969	7.0			175,872	13.6	1,296,455
City of Toronto											
Broadview	11,380	40.8	7,527	27.0	5,167	18.5			3,793	13.6	27,867
Danforth	9,231	43.9	4,521	21.5	3,855	18.3			3,416	16.2	21,023
Davenport	10,919	39.6	7,675	27.8	4,766	17.3			4,216	15.3	27,576
Eglinton	13,786	43.5	9,574	30.2	2,474	7.8			5,868	18.5	31,702
Greenwood	11,183	40.4	6,969	25.2	4,813	17.4			4,720	17.0	27,685
High Park	10,949	40.1	8,357	30.6	3,574	13.1			4,396	16.1	27,276
Parkdale	9,619	39.7	7,761	32.1	3,249	13.4			3,572	14.8	24,201
Rosedale	9,491	40.3	8,306	35.2	2,765	11.7			3,010	12.8	23,572
St. Paul's	10,852	40.9	10,322	38.9	2,628	9.9			2,713	10.2	26,515
Spadina	10,047	29.8	14,768	43.7	1,866	5.5			7,078	21.0	33,759
Trinity	9,607	36.1	10,472	39.3	1,801	6.8			4,736	17.8	26,616
Totals	117,064	39.3	96,252	32.3	36,958	12.4			47,518	16.0	297,792
Province Totals	562,513	35.3	680,417	42.7	127,927	8.0			223,390	14.0	1,594,247
Rejected											13,997
Total Vote Cast											1,608,244

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (82)	Elected	Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (82)	Elected
Reconstn.	=	183,511 ¹	78	UFO-Lab.	=	7,210	1
Ind. Lib.	=	9,767	6	Anti-Comm.	=	3,961	1
Comm.	=	3,385	6	Ind.	=	2,708	1
Lab.	=	7,288	1				

¹The detailed riding analysis for Reconstruction can be found in Scarrow (1962).

Table 9–5 Ontario—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	3,126	30.3	5,565	53.9	1,635	15.8					10,326
Algoma West	5,612	34.1	8,632	52.5	2,196	13.4					16,440
Brant	4,519	49.2	4,657	50.8							9,176
Brantford City	6,312	40.4	8,013	51.2	1,315	8.4					15,640
Bruce	5,275	41.6	7,420	58.4							12,695
Carleton	7,736	53.9	6,617	46.1							14,353
Cochrane	5,652	21.4	16,785	63.7					3,922	14.9	26,359
Dufferin–Simcoe	6,527	60.7	4,226	39.3							10,753
Durham	5,435	44.6	6,743	55.4							12,178
Elgin	8,905	42.9	11,867	57.1							20,772
Essex East	8,060	38.1	9,811	46.4	2,879	13.6			398	1.9	21,148
Essex South	5,457	41.7	7,624	58.3							13,081
Essex West	12,940	44.5	14,133	48.6	2,035	7.0					29,108
Fort William	6,768	39.7	8,504	49.9	1,778	10.4					17,050
Frontenac–Addington	6,154	50.5	6,028	49.5							12,182
Glengarry	2,813	38.1	4,578	61.9							7,391
Grenville–Dundas	7,225	56.2	5,642	43.8							12,867
Grey–Bruce	4,944	30.7	6,389	39.7					4,761	29.6	16,094
Grey North	5,771	36.7	7,538	47.9					2,434	15.5	15,743
Haldimand	5,515	53.9	4,712	46.1							10,227
Halton	6,184	44.3	7,788	55.7							13,972
Hamilton East	11,716	39.5	14,053	47.4	3,190	10.8			695	2.3	29,654
Hamilton West	11,032	44.1	13,965	55.9							24,997
Hastings–Peterborough	5,471	51.2	5,207	48.8							10,678
Hastings South	9,001	48.2	6,330	33.9					3,348	17.9	18,679
Huron North	5,937	50.2	5,897	49.8							11,834
Huron–Perth	3,472	38.2	5,622	61.8							9,094
Kenora–Rainy River	5,286	27.7	10,595	55.6	3,173	16.7					19,054
Kent	11,629	51.5	10,945	48.5							22,574
Kingston City	7,475	43.8	9,609	56.2							17,084
Lambton–Kent	6,089	40.8	8,834	59.2							14,923
Lambton West	7,864	47.6	8,671	52.4							16,535
Lanark	7,180	44.9	8,821	55.1							16,001
Leeds	8,227	44.4	10,322	55.6							18,549
Lincoln	13,331	46.5	12,921	45.0	2,443	8.5					28,695
London	12,534	39.0	15,824	49.3	3,762	11.7					32,120
Middlesex East	6,256	38.4	8,444	51.9	1,577	9.7					16,277
Middlesex West	3,886	39.2	6,024	60.8							9,910
Muskoka–Ontario	7,016	46.4	8,098	53.6							15,114
Nipissing	11,229	29.4	26,916	70.6							38,145
Norfolk	5,894	39.0	9,230	61.0							15,124
Northumberland	7,241	46.9	8,194	53.1							15,435
Ontario	7,914	39.4	12,176	60.6							20,090
Ottawa East	6,149	21.2	12,373	42.6					10,526	36.2	29,048
Ottawa West	19,780	41.9	27,460	58.1							47,240
Oxford	8,325	43.1	10,975	56.9							19,300
Parry Sound	4,159	38.5	5,850	54.2			786	7.3			10,795
Peel	8,486	52.6	7,638	47.4							16,124
Perth	8,451	39.5	12,926	60.5							21,377

Table 9-5 (Continued)

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Peterborough West	9,683	50.5	9,505	49.5							19,188
Port Arthur	5,213	27.9	10,327	55.3	3,128	16.8					18,668
Prescott	1,819	17.7	6,431	62.6					2,028	19.7	10,278
Prince Edward-Lennox	6,574	52.7	5,906	47.3							12,480
Renfrew North	4,536	39.6	6,199	54.2	709	6.2					11,444
Renfrew South	5,236	45.7	6,228	54.3							11,464
Russell	2,961	32.9	6,045	67.1							9,006
Simcoe East	7,024	45.3	8,470	54.7							15,494
Simcoe North	6,030	45.9	7,096	54.1							13,126
Stormont	6,202	37.8	10,197	62.2							16,399
Timiskaming	4,906	22.1	10,455	47.2	2,481	11.2			4,314	19.5	22,156
Victoria	7,422	46.6	8,499	53.4							15,921
Waterloo North	6,694	29.8	14,172	63.1	1,597	7.1					22,463
Waterloo South	7,432	46.6	6,975	43.7	1,549	9.7					15,956
Welland	14,491	39.8	19,132	52.5	2,818	7.7					36,441
Wellington North	4,266	42.6	5,748	57.4							10,014
Wellington South	4,121	23.8	8,115	46.9					5,073	29.3	17,309
Wentworth	14,949	48.8	15,714	51.2							30,663
York East	16,741	49.1	12,429	36.4	4,931	14.5					34,101
York North	8,829	45.3	10,653	54.7							19,482
York South	15,346	45.7	12,864	38.3	5,372	16.0					33,582
York West	12,788	44.6	12,117	42.2	3,787	13.2					28,692
Totals	535,223	41.0	680,469	52.1	52,355	4.0	786	0.1	37,499	2.9	1,306,332
City of Toronto											
Broadview	14,474	58.0	7,866	31.5	2,613	10.5					24,953
Danforth	11,847	57.0	8,946	43.0							20,793
Davenport	14,890	57.2	11,140	42.8							26,030
Eglinton	16,926	49.6	17,166	50.4							34,092
Greenwood	14,710	57.6	7,397	29.0	3,430	13.4					25,537
High Park	12,266	47.0	12,061	46.2	1,777	6.8					26,104
Parkdale	13,605	52.1	12,487	47.9							26,092
Rosedale	12,519	52.4	10,399	43.5	991	4.1					23,909
St. Paul's	15,591	51.3	14,816	48.7							30,407
Spadina	14,148	37.7	20,506	54.6					2,922	7.8	37,576
Trinity	11,617	42.1	14,901	54.0					1,071	3.9	27,589
Totals	152,593	50.3	137,685	45.4	8,811	2.9			3,993	1.3	303,082
Province Totals	687,816	42.7	818,154	50.8	61,166	3.8	786	0	41,492	2.6	1,609,414
Rejected											16,025
Total Vote Cast											1,625,439

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (82)

Ind. Lib.	=	16,012	4
Lab.-Farm.	=	8,126	2
Ind.	=	6,144	2
UFO-Lab.	=	4,761	1
Comm.	=	3,617	2
Nat. LP	=	2,434	1
Can. Lab.	=	398	1

Table 9–6 Ontario—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	3,610	36.3	4,855	48.9	1,468	14.8					9,933
Algoma West	5,619	32.3	7,476	43.0	4,281	24.6					17,376
Brant	5,005	45.3	4,800	43.5	1,235	11.2					11,040
Brantford City	6,988	38.6	8,670	47.9	2,437	13.5					18,095
Bruce	6,933	47.8	6,430	44.3	1,137	7.8					14,500
Carleton	10,916	60.8	5,309	29.6	1,730	9.6					17,955
Cochrane	4,711	18.6	13,285	52.4	7,355	29.0					25,351
Dufferin–Simcoe	8,539	63.6	4,885	36.4							13,424
Durham	6,479	48.3	6,003	44.8	926	6.9					13,408
Elgin	11,652	54.1	7,484	34.8	2,397	11.1					21,533
Essex East	8,244	28.7	16,165	56.2	4,349	15.1					28,758
Essex South	7,540	47.2	7,875	49.3	574	3.6					15,989
Essex West	12,069	37.7	14,270	44.6	5,689	17.8					32,028
Fort William	4,945	26.3	7,209	38.4	5,858	31.2			772	4.1	18,784
Frontenac–Addington	7,707	56.1	5,432	39.6	592	4.3					13,731
Glengarry	2,881	35.0	4,934	60.0	411	5.0					8,226
Grenville–Dundas	9,306	63.6	4,634	31.7	685	4.7					14,625
Grey–Bruce	7,582	43.0	8,912	50.6	1,127	6.4					17,621
Grey North	9,204	50.7	7,570	41.7	1,145	6.3	250	1.4			18,169
Haldimand	5,844	54.1	4,255	39.4	695	6.4					10,794
Halton	6,763	42.6	7,344	46.3	1,770	11.1					15,877
Hamilton East	11,501	32.8	13,176	37.5	8,705	24.8			1,721	4.9	35,103
Hamilton West	9,260	32.5	11,439	40.2	6,728	23.6			1,063	3.7	28,490
Hastings–Peterborough	6,876	58.4	4,226	35.9	673	5.7					11,775
Hastings South	10,546	48.6	9,420	43.4	1,731	8.0					21,697
Huron North	7,083	54.7	5,273	40.7	586	4.5					12,942
Huron–Perth	5,170	46.3	5,645	50.5	353	3.2					11,168
Kenora–Rainy River	5,260	29.2	7,309	40.5	4,762	26.4			705	3.9	18,036
Kent	12,706	51.9	10,490	42.8	1,291	5.3					24,487
Kingston City	9,175	50.9	7,588	42.1	1,271	7.0					18,034
Lambton–Kent	7,829	47.9	7,615	46.6	911	5.6					16,355
Lambton West	8,450	44.8	7,831	41.6	2,560	13.6					18,841
Lanark	10,350	60.3	6,053	35.3	753	4.4					17,156
Leeds	9,714	51.4	8,263	43.8	907	4.8					18,884
Lincoln	15,911	48.3	10,962	33.3	4,540	13.8			1,514	4.6	32,927
London	16,766	47.5	13,421	38.0	4,901	13.9			225	0.6	35,313
Middlesex East	8,808	47.2	7,442	39.9	2,398	12.9					18,648
Middlesex West	4,303	37.6	6,690	58.4	458	4.0					11,451
Muskoka–Ontario	8,531	52.4	7,762	47.6							16,293
Nipissing	10,437	22.9	17,416	38.2	11,349	24.9	1,379	3.0	5,063	11.1	45,644
Norfolk	7,505	47.5	6,699	42.4	1,599	10.1					15,803
Northumberland	7,996	50.8	7,168	45.6	570	3.6					15,734
Ontario	8,996	34.4	12,079	46.2	4,389	16.8			671	2.6	26,135
Ottawa East	6,013	19.8	21,298	70.2	2,188	7.2	374	1.2	471	1.6	30,344
Ottawa West	21,993	41.9	24,458	46.5	4,824	9.2	495	0.9	779	1.5	52,549
Oxford	11,916	48.9	10,149	41.6	2,310	9.5					24,375
Parry Sound	4,909	40.4	5,301	43.6	1,951	16.0					12,161
Peel	10,357	58.7	5,489	31.1	1,788	10.1					17,634

Table 9-6 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Perth	10,961	46.6	10,785	45.9	1,772	7.5					23,518
Peterborough West	10,949	50.6	8,181	37.8	2,512	11.6					21,642
Port Arthur	3,516	17.5	10,045	50.1	5,504	27.4			1,004	5.0	20,069
Prescott	1,753	17.0	6,623	64.4	408	4.0			1,500	14.6	10,284
Prince Edward-Lennox	7,907	58.4	5,121	37.8	517	3.8					13,545
Renfrew North	5,882	41.2	6,828	47.9	1,555	10.9					14,265
Renfrew South	4,872	37.8	7,182	55.7	835	6.5					12,889
Russell	3,271	26.3	5,519	44.4	600	4.8	340	2.7	2,708	21.8	12,438
Simcoe East	6,978	39.7	8,508	48.4	2,109	12.0					17,595
Simcoe North	8,251	52.9	6,309	40.5	1,027	6.6					15,587
Stormont	6,016	32.2	11,702	62.5	991	5.3					18,709
Timiskaming	4,373	22.9	7,818	41.0	6,330	33.2			565	3.0	19,086
Victoria	8,207	50.7	7,388	45.6	601	3.7					16,196
Waterloo North	7,635	26.9	15,791	55.6	4,394	15.5			581	2.0	28,401
Waterloo South	9,201	46.4	5,824	29.4	4,795	24.2					19,820
Welland	14,637	32.7	19,522	43.6	7,383	16.5			3,258	7.3	44,800
Wellington North	5,779	48.2	5,764	48.0	457	3.8					12,000
Wellington South	7,665	40.8	8,484	45.2	2,355	12.5			268	1.4	18,772
Wentworth	15,458	37.7	13,652	33.3	11,914	29.0					41,024
York East	19,908	45.9	14,036	32.3	8,654	19.9	355	0.8	465	1.1	43,418
York North	10,295	40.5	11,428	45.0	3,670	14.5					25,393
York South	16,666	41.3	9,104	22.5	13,543	33.5			1,089	2.7	40,402
York West	14,703	41.2	12,947	36.2	7,183	20.1			886	2.5	35,719
Totals	615,781	41.3	637,020	42.7	209,466	14.1	3,193	0.2	25,308	1.7	1,490,768
City of Toronto											
Broadview	13,011	51.1	6,362	25.0	5,414	21.2			694	2.7	25,481
Danforth	11,401	51.2	6,415	28.8	4,467	20.0					22,283
Davenport	13,110	48.6	7,682	28.5	4,931	18.3	346	1.3	882	3.3	26,951
Eglinton	21,476	53.4	13,586	33.8	4,435	11.0	367	0.9	382	0.9	40,246
Greenwood	13,475	48.9	7,143	25.9	6,495	23.5			468	1.7	27,581
High Park	12,992	43.3	11,379	38.0	5,612	18.7					29,983
Parkdale	11,588	43.2	9,981	37.2	4,188	15.6			1,053	3.9	26,810
Rosedale	11,784	48.8	6,997	29.0	4,342	18.0			1,006	4.2	24,129
St. Paul's	12,390	40.7	12,211	40.1	4,958	16.3			895	2.9	30,454
Spadina	10,846	26.0	17,978	43.2	2,769	6.6			10,050	24.1	41,643
Trinity	8,908	31.1	8,817	30.8	3,425	12.0			7,488	26.1	28,638
Totals	140,981	43.5	108,551	33.5	51,036	15.7	713	0.2	22,918	7.1	324,199
Province Totals	756,762	41.7	745,571	41.1	260,502	14.4	3,906	0.2	48,226	2.7	1,814,967
Rejected											16,389
Total Vote Cast											1,831,806

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (82)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (82)
Lab. Prog. = 35,752	24	Lab. = 581	1
BPC = 5,038	2	Ind. PC = 295	1
Farm.-Lab. = 3,258	1	Ind. Lab. = 241	1
Ind. = 3,061	3		

Table 9-7 Ontario—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	2,908	25.7	6,184	54.8	2,202	19.5					11,294
Algoma West	5,056	25.4	10,127	50.9	4,716	23.7					19,899
Brantford	6,747	28.7	12,565	53.5	4,160	17.7					23,472
Brant-Wentworth	6,693	42.8	6,669	42.7	2,259	14.5					15,621
Bruce	6,685	44.6	7,517	50.1	795	5.3					14,997
Carleton	18,141	53.0	13,937	40.7	2,155	6.3					34,233
Cochrane	3,885	28.9	6,352	47.2	2,331	17.3			891	6.6	13,459
Dufferin-Simcoe	7,639	57.2	5,720	42.8							13,359
Durham	6,476	43.8	6,907	46.7	1,419	9.6					14,802
Elgin	10,265	48.6	9,085	43.0	1,783	8.4					21,133
Essex East	8,204	26.0	16,709	52.9	5,213	16.5			1,464	4.6	31,590
Essex South	9,110	46.6	10,427	53.4							19,537
Essex West	12,958	36.6	15,620	44.1	6,836	19.3					35,414
Fort William	5,751	27.5	9,569	45.8	4,830	23.1			746	3.6	20,896
Frontenac-Addington	7,724	51.6	6,490	43.3	767	5.1					14,981
Glengarry	3,559	41.1	4,809	55.5			300	3.5			8,668
Grenville-Dundas	8,450	60.2	5,102	36.3	496	3.5					14,048
Grey-Bruce	6,051	34.2	10,528	59.4	1,137	6.4					17,716
Grey North	7,589	40.2	9,949	52.7	1,354	7.2					18,892
Haldimand	5,432	47.1	5,124	44.4	978	8.5					11,534
Halton	8,099	41.6	9,546	49.0	1,829	9.4					19,474
Hamilton East	11,155	31.7	14,035	39.9	8,302	23.6			1,720	4.9	35,212
Hamilton West	9,252	32.7	12,324	43.5	6,748	23.8					28,324
Hastings-Peterborough	6,578	54.9	4,681	39.0	732	6.1					11,991
Hastings South	10,337	41.0	13,099	51.9	1,780	7.1					25,216
Huron North	6,986	50.1	6,465	46.4	497	3.6					13,948
Huron-Perth	6,705	47.0	7,000	49.1	558	3.9					14,263
Kenora-Rainy River	5,024	24.9	11,297	56.0	3,869	19.2					20,190
Kent	12,444	44.0	14,903	52.7	949	3.4					28,296
Kingston City	7,831	42.0	10,045	53.8	786	4.2					18,662
Lambton-Kent	8,189	45.8	9,674	54.2							17,863
Lambton West	9,730	47.0	8,962	43.3	2,014	9.7					20,706
Lanark	10,921	59.9	6,682	36.6	632	3.5					18,235
Leeds	9,302	46.3	10,080	50.2	699	3.5					20,081
Lincoln	14,038	37.0	17,407	45.8	5,793	15.3			742	2.0	37,980
London	14,988	41.7	16,427	45.7	4,532	12.6					35,947
Middlesex East	9,258	43.5	9,198	43.2	2,848	13.4					21,304
Middlesex West	5,239	39.8	7,938	60.2							13,177
Nipissing	4,836	22.4	11,061	51.2	3,663	17.0	1,552	7.2	489	2.3	21,601
Norfolk	7,067	40.3	9,280	52.9	1,180	6.7					17,527
Northumberland	8,522	47.6	9,374	52.4							17,896
Ontario	9,803	30.1	13,412	41.2	9,344	28.7					32,559
Ottawa East	5,499	18.4	20,895	70.0	1,363	4.6	208	0.7	1,885	6.3	29,850
Ottawa West	15,010	35.7	24,295	57.8	2,754	6.5					42,059
Oxford	11,791	45.2	12,581	48.3	1,688	6.5					26,060
Parry Sound-Muskoka	9,816	40.9	11,636	48.5	2,535	10.6					23,987
Peel	10,570	49.4	7,788	36.4	3,043	14.2					21,401
Perth	9,667	43.4	10,901	49.0	1,697	7.6					22,265
Peterborough West	10,981	44.8	10,738	43.8	2,804	11.4					24,523

Table 9-7 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Port Arthur	5,068	20.5	12,646	51.1	6,401	25.9	627	2.5			24,742
Prescott	1,928	16.8	4,148	36.2					5,380	47.0	11,456
Prince Edward-Lennox	7,435	52.1	5,965	41.8	866	6.1					14,266
Renfrew North	6,598	40.0	8,358	50.7	1,530	9.3					16,486
Renfrew South	6,412	43.3	7,909	53.4	486	3.3					14,807
Russell	5,767	28.8	12,635	63.0	1,112	5.5	538	2.7			20,052
Simcoe East	7,976	38.9	10,030	48.9	2,095	10.2			404	2.0	20,505
Simcoe North	7,658	50.0	6,613	43.2	1,053	6.9					15,324
Stormont	6,670	32.0	12,639	60.6	1,283	6.2			252	1.2	20,844
Sudbury	8,009	22.5	15,636	44.0	5,717	16.1			6,161	17.3	35,523
Timiskaming	5,512	26.2	8,528	40.6	6,961	33.1					21,001
Timmins	4,377	23.5	7,949	42.6	5,517	29.6			813	4.4	18,656
Victoria	11,061	50.8	10,105	46.4	625	2.9					21,791
Waterloo North	7,229	22.5	17,715	55.2	7,141	22.3					32,085
Waterloo South	8,740	38.7	8,397	37.2	5,425	24.0					22,562
Welland	13,259	26.4	23,734	47.3	11,493	22.9			1,711	3.4	50,197
Wellington North	6,025	48.0	6,057	48.2	479	3.8					12,561
Wellington South	7,778	35.6	10,344	47.3	3,748	17.1					21,870
Wentworth	16,443	38.3	13,312	31.0	11,638	27.1			1,590	3.7	42,983
York East	22,364	39.1	21,398	37.4	13,448	23.5					57,210
York North	14,429	36.9	18,933	48.4	5,736	14.7					39,098
York South	14,273	34.4	11,932	28.8	15,293	36.9					41,498
York West	19,184	38.1	18,689	37.1	12,498	24.8					50,371
Totals	633,156	37.6	784,786	46.7	236,615	14.1	3,225	0.2	24,248	1.4	1,682,030
City of Toronto											
Broadview	10,507	37.9	9,316	33.6	7,636	27.5			271	1.0	27,730
Danforth	9,960	42.2	8,013	34.0	5,601	23.8					23,574
Davenport	10,476	35.8	11,431	39.0	7,366	25.2					29,273
Eglinton	19,853	48.9	16,426	40.5	4,305	10.6					40,584
Greenwood	10,454	35.4	10,291	34.9	8,777	29.7					29,522
High Park	11,726	38.3	12,216	39.9	6,671	21.8					30,613
Parkdale	10,137	34.7	12,876	44.0	6,242	21.3					29,255
Rosedale	10,189	37.5	10,835	39.8	6,170	22.7					27,194
St. Paul's	12,922	38.5	14,000	41.7	6,677	19.9					33,599
Spadina	9,407	24.1	23,652	60.6	5,969	15.3					39,028
Trinity	8,423	28.3	10,389	34.9	4,522	15.2			6,438	21.6	29,772
Totals	124,054	36.5	139,445	41.0	69,936	20.6			6,709	2.0	340,144
Province Totals	757,210	37.4	924,231	45.7	306,551	15.2	3,225	0.2	30,957	1.5	2,022,174
Rejected											20,120
Total Vote Cast											2,042,294

Votes Cast for "Other":	Ridings (83)	Elected	Votes Cast for "Other":	Ridings (83)	Elected
Lab. Prog. = 13,613	7		Ind. = 1,304	2	
Ind. Lib. = 6,488	2	1	Ind. PC = 777	1	
Farm.-Lab. = 6,161	1		Labor = 307	1	
Un. Elec. = 2,036	4		Lab. Soc. = 271	1	

Table 9–8 Ontario—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	3,877	34.1	7,494	65.9							11,371
Algoma West	5,571	27.2	10,461	51.1	4,428	21.6					20,460
Brantford	7,912	36.7	9,576	44.5	3,839	17.8			216	1.0	21,543
Brant–Haldimand	10,059	48.5	9,305	44.9	1,358	6.6					20,722
Bruce	7,132	51.2	6,808	48.8							13,940
Carleton	20,137	55.2	14,676	40.3	1,075	2.9	562	1.5			36,450
Cochrane	5,194	36.3	6,667	46.6	2,448	17.1					14,309
Dufferin–Simcoe	9,248	56.6	7,083	43.4							16,331
Durham	6,504	45.0	6,684	46.2	1,273	8.8					14,461
Elgin	12,482	53.7	10,743	46.3							23,225
Essex East	5,530	18.6	19,946	67.2	3,013	10.1			1,212	4.1	29,701
Essex South	7,420	41.1	10,620	58.9							18,040
Essex West	9,392	32.8	15,199	53.0	3,198	11.2			868	3.0	28,657
Fort William	5,030	25.4	10,402	52.6	3,847	19.4			508	2.6	19,787
Glengarry–Prescott	5,893	30.5	13,121	68.0	280	1.5					19,294
Grenville–Dundas	8,875	64.3	4,933	35.7							13,808
Grey–Bruce	6,279	40.5	9,236	59.5							15,515
Grey North	7,293	41.9	8,368	48.0	1,417	8.1	342	2.0			17,420
Halton	9,914	48.4	8,732	42.7	1,819	8.9					20,465
Hamilton East	7,710	30.0	11,622	45.2	5,648	22.0			721	2.8	25,701
Hamilton South	9,220	30.6	12,296	40.8	7,478	24.8	582	1.9	573	1.9	30,149
Hamilton West	13,016	47.5	10,044	36.6	4,358	15.9					27,418
Hastings–Frontenac	11,084	59.2	7,637	40.8							18,721
Hastings South	12,121	46.6	13,170	50.7	702	2.7					25,993
Huron	11,045	52.3	10,092	47.7							21,137
Kenora–Rainy River	5,822	29.1	11,380	57.0	2,411	12.1			369	1.8	19,982
Kent	10,496	40.3	15,532	59.7							26,028
Kingston	11,806	43.4	14,663	53.9	731	2.7					27,200
Lambton–Kent	7,248	43.5	9,432	56.5							16,680
Lambton West	11,666	52.9	9,306	42.2	1,089	4.9					22,061
Lanark	10,029	63.5	5,316	33.7	451	2.9					15,796
Leeds	10,097	50.9	9,736	49.1							19,833
Lincoln	14,694	39.8	16,113	43.7	4,575	12.4			1,505	4.1	36,887
London	15,254	48.4	12,869	40.8	2,748	8.7			662	2.1	31,533
Middlesex East	12,027	49.9	8,952	37.1	3,137	13.0					24,116
Middlesex West	5,760	38.8	8,645	58.3	432	2.9					14,837
Niagara Falls	6,264	27.9	13,400	59.7	2,605	11.6			167	0.7	22,436
Nickle Belt	3,144	20.9	8,821	58.6	2,410	16.0			687	4.6	15,062
Nipissing	5,329	27.2	12,415	63.4	1,637	8.4			216	1.1	19,597
Norfolk	6,747	42.1	8,475	52.8	621	3.9			193	1.2	16,036
Northumberland	7,623	43.2	9,595	54.3	442	2.5					17,660
Ontario	12,482	42.0	11,285	38.0	5,524	18.6			393	1.3	29,684
Ottawa East	5,511	20.7	19,863	74.7	1,209	4.5					26,583
Ottawa West	13,539	37.7	20,933	58.3	1,209	3.4			219	0.6	35,900
Oxford	12,693	50.1	12,654	49.9							25,347
Parry Sound–Muskoka	9,690	44.1	10,940	49.8	1,352	6.2					21,982
Peel	13,487	53.3	9,263	36.6	2,560	10.1					25,310
Perth	12,959	54.2	10,938	45.8							23,897

Table 9-8 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Peterborough	13,206	52.5	10,218	40.6	1,747	6.9					25,171
Port Arthur	5,415	22.1	12,272	50.1	5,865	24.0			923	3.8	24,475
Prince Edward-Lennox	6,726	53.7							5,801	46.3	12,527
Renfrew North	7,268	43.7	9,360	56.3							16,628
Renfrew South	6,395	41.5	8,627	56.0	382	2.5					15,404
Russell	6,470	26.8	15,969	66.2	1,157	4.8	519	2.2			24,115
Simcoe East	8,944	45.0	9,099	45.8	1,310	6.6	533	2.7			19,886
Simcoe North	8,316	51.6	7,796	48.4							16,112
Stormont	7,244	34.9	13,503	65.1							20,747
Sudbury	5,598	26.3	12,193	57.2	3,514	16.5					21,305
Timiskaming	4,611	24.7	7,497	40.1	6,259	33.5			335	1.8	18,702
Timmins	3,348	24.0	5,541	39.7	4,686	33.6			369	2.6	13,944
Victoria	12,634	58.3	9,041	41.7							21,675
Waterloo North	10,751	33.4	16,139	50.1	4,654	14.4	671	2.1			32,215
Waterloo South	7,309	33.7	9,058	41.8	4,039	18.6	1,275	5.9			21,681
Welland	7,373	26.4	15,411	55.2	4,408	15.8			721	2.6	27,913
Wellington-Huron	7,198	50.3	7,120	49.7							14,318
Wellington South	8,722	42.7	9,275	45.4	2,431	11.9					20,428
Wentworth	10,476	47.4	7,700	34.9	3,915	17.7					22,091
York Centre	11,180	35.5	13,903	44.1	5,960	18.9			483	1.5	31,526
York East	11,062	42.5	8,701	33.4	5,815	22.3			472	1.8	26,050
York-Humber	11,157	41.1	11,090	40.8	4,924	18.1					27,171
York North	9,355	41.7	10,988	48.9	2,116	9.4					22,459
York-Scarborough	14,221	42.0	14,889	44.0	4,184	12.4	580	1.7			33,874
York South	10,116	29.8	10,820	31.9	12,216	36.0			755	2.2	33,907
York West	12,228	41.5	10,262	34.8	6,569	22.3			417	1.4	29,476
Totals	669,628	40.5	791,913	47.9	167,475	10.1	5,064	0.3	18,785	1.1	1,652,865
City of Toronto											
Broadview	10,403	49.6	6,316	30.1	3,910	18.6			354	1.7	20,983
Danforth	12,595	41.0	11,834	38.5	5,905	19.2			374	1.2	30,708
Davenport	6,998	32.3	8,919	41.1	4,968	22.9			802	3.7	21,687
Eglinton	17,354	56.2	11,190	36.2	2,337	7.6					30,881
Greenwood	9,702	44.0	6,404	29.0	5,334	24.2			610	2.8	22,050
High Park	8,526	37.1	10,032	43.7	3,847	16.7			572	2.5	22,977
Parkdale	6,788	31.2	10,391	47.8	3,788	17.4			765	3.5	21,732
Rosedale	8,386	39.7	8,702	41.2	3,727	17.6			308	1.5	21,123
St. Paul's	9,738	41.5	9,223	39.3	3,786	16.1	363	1.5	369	1.6	23,479
Spadina	6,554	24.0	15,496	56.8	3,270	12.0			1,938	7.1	27,258
Trinity	6,019	30.6	8,056	40.9	3,877	19.7			1,725	8.8	19,677
Totals	103,063	39.3	106,563	40.6	44,749	17.0	363	0.1	7,817	3.0	262,555
Province Totals	772,691	40.3	898,476	46.9	212,224	11.1	5,427	0.3	26,602	1.4	1,915,420
Rejected											23,539
Total Vote Cast											1,938,959
Vote Cast for "Other":											
Lab. Prog.	=	18,414	Ridings (85)	=	29	Ind. Lib.	=	216	Ridings (85)	=	1
Ind.	=	6,337			3	Lab. Soc.	=	130			1
Chr. Lib.	=	1,505			1						

Table 9–9 Ontario—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	5,757	34.9	8,574	52.0	2,156	13.1					16,487
Algoma West	8,345	35.5	10,166	43.2	5,027	21.4					23,538
Brantford	9,902	41.4	8,095	33.8	5,927	24.8					23,924
Brant–Haldimand	12,858	55.7	8,063	34.9	2,168	9.4					23,089
Bruce	8,225	57.5	6,089	42.5							14,314
Carleton	27,865	61.8	15,298	33.9	1,334	3.0	607	1.3			45,104
Cochrane	3,319	22.4	6,626	44.6	2,552	17.2	2,351	15.8			14,848
Dufferin–Simcoe	11,852	65.3	6,290	34.7							18,142
Durham	7,331	44.5	6,829	41.4	1,918	11.6	399	2.4			16,477
Elgin	14,822	59.9	7,280	29.4	1,233	5.0	1,407	5.7			24,742
Essex East	10,593	27.5	22,023	57.2	5,917	15.4					38,533
Essex South	10,006	48.4	9,580	46.3	775	3.7	311	1.5			20,672
Essex West	11,256	32.2	15,180	43.4	7,736	22.1	837	2.4			35,009
Fort William	7,926	35.4	8,552	38.2	5,903	26.4					22,381
Glengarry–Prescott	8,241	40.2	6,661	32.5			198	1.0	5,414	26.4	20,514
Grenville–Dundas	8,967	62.1	4,402	30.5			1,072	7.4			14,441
Grey–Bruce	10,707	58.5	7,606	41.5							18,313
Grey North	11,028	57.4	7,096	36.9	1,096	5.7					19,220
Halton	17,795	58.8	9,145	30.2	3,344	11.0					30,284
Hamilton East	10,528	38.5	8,511	31.2	7,367	27.0	916	3.4			27,322
Hamilton South	16,085	39.4	11,611	28.5	11,485	28.1	1,629	4.0			40,810
Hamilton West	16,533	53.6	9,964	32.3	4,363	14.1					30,860
Hastings–Frontenac	11,602	62.0	5,169	27.6			1,941	10.4			18,712
Hastings South	14,798	52.7	12,624	45.0			651	2.3			28,073
Huron	12,323	58.2	8,860	41.8							21,183
Kenora–Rainy River	7,087	31.5	10,701	47.6	4,689	20.9					22,477
Kent	10,907	40.9	13,977	52.4			1,792	6.7			26,676
Kingston	12,977	45.2	14,728	51.3	1,032	3.6					28,737
Lambton–Kent	9,745	55.7	7,752	44.3							17,497
Lambton West	13,096	48.1	11,583	42.5	1,732	6.4	827	3.0			27,238
Lanark	11,629	72.1	4,504	27.9							16,133
Leeds	11,065	51.3	10,125	46.9			395	1.8			21,585
Lincoln	25,409	52.6	15,794	32.7	4,829	10.0	2,233	4.6			48,265
London	19,804	58.9	11,110	33.0	2,714	8.1					33,628
Middlesex East	20,287	61.8	9,323	28.4	3,242	9.9					32,852
Middlesex West	9,075	53.2	7,368	43.2	631	3.7					17,074
Niagara Falls	10,845	46.0	12,706	54.0							23,551
Nickel Belt	7,490	36.2	8,819	42.6	4,395	21.2					20,704
Nipissing	7,351	33.6	12,528	57.3	1,999	9.1					21,878
Norfolk	10,885	56.4	7,711	40.0			690	3.6			19,286
Northumberland	10,062	52.5	9,112	47.5							19,174
Ontario	18,468	42.8	10,896	25.2	13,806	32.0					43,170
Ottawa East	5,947	23.2	18,216	71.1	620	2.4	843	3.3			25,626
Ottawa West	12,538	37.0	19,434	57.3	1,062	3.1	881	2.6			33,915
Oxford	20,404	68.9	8,275	27.9			944	3.2			29,623
Parry Sound–Muskoka	14,014	58.0	10,161	42.0							24,175
Peel	19,818	57.3	10,467	30.2	3,418	9.9	913	2.6			34,616
Perth	16,663	64.5	9,186	35.5							25,849
Peterborough	16,598	60.7	8,301	30.4	1,887	6.9	555	2.0			27,341

Table 9-9 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Port Arthur	5,261	18.6	10,813	38.2	12,228	43.2					28,302
Prince Edward-Lennox	9,003	58.3	5,901	38.2			540	3.5			15,444
Renfrew North	9,132	47.2	10,227	52.8							19,359
Renfrew South	8,782	53.0	7,791	47.0							16,573
Russell	12,271	34.5	20,673	58.2	1,420	4.0	1,161	3.3			35,525
Simcoe East	12,497	54.8	8,193	35.9	1,395	6.1			726	3.2	22,811
Simcoe North	11,437	62.5	6,860	37.5							18,297
Stormont	10,215	43.7	12,505	53.5			646	2.8			23,366
Sudbury	10,440	40.3	11,927	46.0	3,566	13.8					25,933
Timiskaming	5,645	29.0	6,896	35.4	6,936	35.6					19,477
Timmins	4,423	25.3	6,290	36.0	6,776	38.7					17,489
Victoria	14,153	65.0	5,835	26.8	860	4.0	917	4.2			21,765
Waterloo North	13,458	35.7	15,972	42.3	7,406	19.6	901	2.4			37,737
Waterloo South	11,699	47.4	7,450	30.2	4,009	16.2	1,532	6.2			24,690
Welland	10,620	34.0	13,241	42.4	7,356	23.6					31,217
Wellington-Huron	9,421	62.1	5,741	37.9							15,162
Wellington South	11,632	54.6	6,090	28.6	3,573	16.8					21,295
Wentworth	19,037	57.9	8,922	27.1	4,905	14.9					32,864
York Centre	23,295	47.4	16,925	34.4	8,164	16.6	777	1.6			49,161
York East	17,236	51.2	9,078	27.0	6,725	20.0	620	1.8			33,659
York-Humber	18,449	52.0	10,851	30.6	4,872	13.7	1,324	3.7			35,496
York North	17,770	58.9	10,753	35.6			1,653	5.5			30,176
York-Scarborough	42,299	56.3	22,353	29.7	8,931	11.9	1,600	2.1			75,183
York South	16,624	40.0	12,232	29.5	12,024	28.9	654	1.6			41,534
York West	27,035	55.5	13,665	28.1	6,600	13.6	1,368	2.8			48,668
Totals	962,662	48.4	760,255	38.2	224,103	11.3	36,085	1.8	6,140	0.3	1,989,245
City of Toronto											
Broadview	12,815	59.4	4,664	21.6	4,078	18.9					21,557
Danforth	18,604	50.6	8,443	23.0	9,720	26.4					36,767
Davenport	8,989	40.7	6,665	30.2	6,414	29.1					22,068
Eglinton	25,046	68.8	8,354	22.9	2,765	7.6			252	0.7	36,417
Greenwood	12,422	53.4	4,803	20.6	6,035	25.9					23,260
High Park	11,034	46.1	8,767	36.6	3,657	15.3	498	2.1			23,956
Parkdale	9,882	45.2	7,671	35.1	3,979	18.2			342	1.6	21,874
Rosedale	12,415	54.3	7,122	31.1	3,038	13.3	299	1.3			22,874
St. Paul's	13,243	56.9	6,586	28.3	2,906	12.5	533	2.3			23,268
Spadina	10,348	43.1	9,496	39.6	3,031	12.6	464	1.9	668	2.8	24,007
Trinity	6,564	34.0	7,068	36.7	4,343	22.5	539	2.8	764	4.0	19,278
Totals	141,362	51.3	79,639	28.9	49,966	18.1	2,333	0.8	2,026	0.7	275,326
Province Totals	1,104,024	48.8	839,894	37.1	274,069	12.1	38,418	1.7	8,166	0.4	2,264,571
Rejected											30,553
Total Vote Cast											2,295,124

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (85)
Ind. Lib. = 5,414	1
Lab. Prog. = 1,432	2
Ind. = 726	1
Ind. PC = 342	1
Lib.-Con. = 252	1

Table 9–10 Ontario—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	8,208	38.2	11,240	52.3	2,039	9.5					21,487
Algoma West	11,355	39.8	12,390	43.4	4,801	16.8					28,546
Brantford	14,059	55.2	7,694	30.2	3,726	14.6					25,479
Brant—Haldimand	15,182	65.2	6,630	28.5	1,462	6.3					23,274
Bruce	9,510	65.7	4,975	34.3							14,485
Carleton	32,741	67.5	13,652	28.1	1,777	3.7	355	0.7			48,525
Cochrane	6,941	39.6	7,851	44.8	2,729	15.6					17,521
Dufferin—Simcoe	13,037	69.4	5,750	30.6							18,787
Durham	9,732	56.0	6,178	35.5	1,480	8.5					17,390
Elgin	17,146	68.4	6,656	26.6	1,008	4.0	252	1.0			25,062
Essex East	16,451	38.2	18,074	42.0	8,530	19.8					43,055
Essex South	14,326	61.2	8,222	35.1	861	3.7					23,409
Essex West	18,927	45.8	14,190	34.3	7,898	19.1	355	0.9			41,370
Fort William	9,798	39.4	9,915	39.8	4,953	19.9			224	0.9	24,890
Glengarry—Prescott	10,385	51.3	9,865	48.7							20,250
Grenville—Dundas	10,793	69.2	4,340	27.8			473	3.0			15,606
Grey—Bruce	11,878	65.5	6,248	34.5							18,126
Grey North	12,240	62.8	5,990	30.7	1,265	6.5					19,495
Halton	21,056	61.0	9,978	28.9	3,481	10.1					34,515
Hamilton East	15,046	51.3	7,427	25.3	6,315	21.5			537	1.8	29,325
Hamilton South	24,453	54.1	9,860	21.8	10,874	24.1					45,187
Hamilton West	19,863	64.7	6,094	19.9	4,742	15.4					30,699
Hastings—Frontenac	13,983	69.4	5,564	27.6			606	3.0			20,153
Hastings South	17,849	61.6	10,069	34.7	1,058	3.7					28,976
Huron	14,108	65.1	7,550	34.9							21,658
Kenora—Rainy River	11,773	43.3	11,956	43.9	3,487	12.8					27,216
Kent	17,348	55.9	13,005	41.9			661	2.1			31,014
Kingston	16,989	51.9	14,862	45.4	887	2.7					32,738
Lambton—Kent	12,835	69.1	5,749	30.9							18,584
Lambton West	16,603	57.1	10,197	35.1	2,124	7.3			164	0.6	29,088
Lanark	12,116	73.7	4,315	26.3							16,431
Leeds	12,675	58.1	9,145	41.9							21,820
Lincoln	29,958	58.8	15,063	29.6	4,978	9.8	949	1.9			50,948
London	24,276	67.5	9,107	25.3	2,598	7.2					35,981
Middlesex East	24,896	69.4	7,849	21.9	3,125	8.7					35,870
Middlesex West	11,974	67.1	5,883	32.9							17,857
Niagara Falls	13,504	44.1	14,025	45.8	3,115	10.2					30,644
Nickle Belt	8,556	34.0	11,866	47.1	4,772	18.9					25,194
Nipissing	10,422	39.0	15,046	56.3	1,242	4.6					26,710
Norfolk	12,369	62.7	7,347	37.3							19,716
Northumberland	12,517	64.0	7,028	36.0							19,545
Ontario	26,887	58.4	10,848	23.6	8,023	17.4			248	0.5	46,006
Ottawa East	9,850	35.3	17,161	61.4	573	2.1	357	1.3			27,941
Ottawa West	17,673	47.1	19,098	50.9	751	2.0					37,522
Oxford	22,079	75.1	7,305	24.9							29,384
Parry Sound—Muskoka	14,888	61.7	6,833	28.3	2,414	10.0					24,135
Peel	23,379	61.2	10,357	27.1	3,848	10.1	640	1.7			38,224
Perth	18,295	70.4	6,842	26.3					859	3.3	25,996

Table 9-10 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Peterborough	19,032	66.8	7,254	25.5	1,887	6.6	326	1.1			28,499
Port Arthur	10,215	32.5	9,043	28.7	12,217	38.8					31,475
Prince Edward-Lennox	10,783	70.7	4,458	29.3							15,241
Renfrew North	10,226	49.5	10,425	50.5							20,651
Renfrew South	9,259	53.2	8,148	46.8							17,407
Russell	19,464	45.4	21,575	50.3	1,224	2.9	594	1.4			42,857
Simcoe East	15,149	63.2	7,403	30.9	1,423	5.9					23,975
Simcoe North	13,855	70.2	5,890	29.8							19,745
Stormont	13,964	53.2	11,977	45.6			331	1.3			26,272
Sudbury	11,084	35.0	16,216	51.1	4,413	13.9					31,713
Timiskaming	7,318	34.9	6,118	29.2	7,544	36.0					20,980
Timmins	6,252	32.4	5,719	29.6	7,342	38.0					19,313
Victoria	16,080	71.8	5,190	23.2	1,112	5.0					22,382
Waterloo North	24,526	54.6	15,206	33.9	5,148	11.5					44,880
Waterloo South	15,624	60.5	5,793	22.4	4,415	17.1					25,832
Welland	14,053	39.1	15,365	42.7	6,550	18.2					35,968
Wellington-Huron	10,574	68.1	4,963	31.9							15,537
Wellington South	15,160	59.4	8,194	32.1	2,186	8.6					25,540
Wentworth	23,854	65.5	7,578	20.8	4,972	13.7					36,404
York Centre	30,764	53.3	19,065	33.0	7,888	13.7					57,717
York East	22,900	61.5	8,317	22.3	6,033	16.2					37,250
York-Humber	23,723	60.0	9,557	24.2	6,257	15.8					39,537
York North	21,499	63.9	9,523	28.3	2,148	6.4	494	1.5			33,664
York-Scarborough	57,396	65.1	22,019	25.0	8,123	9.2	653	0.7			88,191
York South	22,980	49.5	13,141	28.3	9,643	20.8	258	0.6	427	0.9	46,449
York West	34,208	60.1	15,589	27.4	6,502	11.4	612	1.1			56,911
Totals	1,230,871	56.2	731,015	33.4	217,963	10.0	7,916	0.4	2,459	0.1	2,190,224
City of Toronto											
Broadview	15,364	64.3	4,738	19.8	3,356	14.0			447	1.9	23,905
Danforth	24,139	58.8	7,529	18.4	9,352	22.8					41,020
Davenport	12,117	48.6	7,872	31.5	4,963	19.9					24,952
Eglinton	28,565	70.2	9,468	23.3	2,646	6.5					40,679
Greenwood	16,284	62.1	4,320	16.5	5,626	21.4					26,230
High Park	14,289	52.2	9,586	35.0	3,256	11.9	237	0.9			27,368
Parkdale	13,640	52.3	8,599	33.0	3,492	13.4			344	1.3	26,075
Rosedale	15,429	63.2	6,412	26.3	2,570	10.5					24,411
St. Paul's	18,213	64.8	7,212	25.7	2,686	9.6					28,111
Spadina	14,616	50.2	10,596	36.4	3,040	10.4	233	0.8	652	2.2	29,137
Trinity	10,203	45.5	8,177	36.5	3,170	14.2			851	3.8	22,401
Totals	182,859	58.2	84,509	26.9	44,157	14.0	470	0.1	2,294	0.7	314,289
Province Totals	1,413,730	56.4	815,524	32.6	262,120	10.5	8,386	0.3	4,753	0.2	2,504,513
Rejected											30,042
Total Vote Cast											2,534,555

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (85)

Lab. Prog.	=	3,035	6
Ind.	=	1,271	3
Soc.	=	447	1

Table 9–11 Ontario—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	5,631	27.2	11,934	57.6	3,168	15.3					20,733
Algoma West	9,681	30.5	13,832	43.5	8,274	26.0					31,787
Brantford	8,549	33.8	11,475	45.4	4,085	16.1	1,193	4.7			25,302
Brant–Haldimand	10,883	42.3	11,278	43.8	2,626	10.2	941	3.7			25,728
Bruce	7,604	51.6	6,141	41.7	706	4.8	279	1.9			14,730
Carleton	32,125	51.7	26,109	42.0	3,024	4.9	922	1.5			62,180
Cochrane	4,072	22.2	7,969	43.5	4,814	26.3	1,459	8.0			18,314
Dufferin–Simcoe	10,533	53.7	7,526	38.4			1,547	7.9			19,606
Durham	7,704	42.7	7,971	44.2	2,217	12.3	158	0.9			18,050
Elgin	12,569	45.5	12,491	45.2	1,936	7.0	622	2.3			27,618
Essex East	8,210	19.3	24,969	58.7	8,888	20.9	476	1.1			42,543
Essex South	10,409	44.4	11,397	48.6	1,342	5.7	284	1.2			23,432
Essex West	11,018	27.6	18,152	45.5	9,771	24.5	649	1.6	261	0.7	39,851
Fort William	7,108	28.0	12,229	48.1	5,713	22.5	361	1.4			25,411
Glengarry–Prescott	8,186	40.3	11,043	54.3	461	2.3	639	3.1			20,329
Grenville–Dundas	10,159	59.3	6,410	37.4	299	1.7	258	1.5			17,126
Grey–Bruce	10,514	57.5	7,009	38.3	763	4.2					18,286
Grey North	9,890	52.1	6,078	32.0	2,713	14.3	298	1.6			18,979
Halton	18,458	40.5	18,556	40.7	8,001	17.6	547	1.2			45,562
Hamilton East	8,437	30.3	12,027	43.2	7,353	26.4					27,817
Hamilton South	17,392	34.9	15,933	31.9	15,899	31.9	657	1.3			49,881
Hamilton West	12,794	43.2	11,047	37.3	5,321	18.0			421	1.4	29,583
Hastings–Frontenac	12,396	59.8	6,248	30.2	2,078	10.0					20,722
Hastings South	15,527	49.9	13,873	44.6	1,737	5.6					31,137
Huron	11,562	51.7	9,177	41.1	1,148	5.1	466	2.1			22,353
Kenora–Rainy River	7,123	25.7	15,412	55.7	5,157	18.6					27,692
Kent	14,280	47.2	15,362	50.7			629	2.1			30,271
Kingston	13,599	42.4	16,828	52.4	1,468	4.6	214	0.7			32,109
Lambton–Kent	9,052	46.5	9,874	50.8			521	2.7			19,447
Lambton West	11,292	35.1	14,125	43.9	6,249	19.4	524	1.6			32,190
Lanark	10,462	57.0	6,823	37.2	410	2.2	660	3.6			18,355
Leeds	10,325	45.2	12,071	52.9			424	1.9			22,820
Lincoln	20,445	37.7	23,386	43.1	5,130	9.5	5,262	9.7			54,223
London	16,096	51.4	11,084	35.4	3,679	11.8	447	1.4			31,306
Middlesex East	19,003	47.0	13,231	32.7	7,246	17.9	992	2.5			40,472
Middlesex West	10,178	50.7	7,914	39.4	1,658	8.3	327	1.6			20,077
Niagara Falls	7,795	25.2	18,500	59.7	3,713	12.0	985	3.2			30,993
Nickel Belt	8,381	29.0	16,440	56.9	3,085	10.7	978	3.4			28,884
Nipissing	7,127	25.9	17,164	62.4	2,573	9.4	631	2.3			27,495
Norfolk	9,092	42.0	10,882	50.3	1,216	5.6	464	2.1			21,654
Northumberland	10,451	49.7	9,693	46.1	870	4.1					21,014
Ontario	23,158	42.8	16,051	29.6	14,461	26.7	488	0.9			54,158
Ottawa East	6,801	27.8	15,930	65.1	1,216	5.0	534	2.2			24,481
Ottawa West	11,397	37.3	16,935	55.4	1,538	5.0	698	2.3			30,568
Oxford	18,352	57.8	10,731	33.8	1,918	6.0	735	2.3			31,736
Parry Sound–Muskoka	13,135	51.3	9,646	37.7	2,817	11.0					25,598
Peel	19,238	38.9	21,221	42.9	8,341	16.9	611	1.2			49,411
Perth	15,108	58.8	8,839	34.4	1,739	6.8					25,686

Table 9-11 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Peterborough	12,185	38.1	8,215	25.7	11,605	36.3					32,005
Port Arthur	9,266	26.5	11,502	32.9	13,437	38.4	352	1.0	418	1.2	34,975
Prince Edward-Lennox	9,094	52.6	7,128	41.2	922	5.3	142	0.8			17,286
Renfrew North	9,348	40.8	11,313	49.4	902	3.9	1,344	5.9			22,907
Renfrew South	8,732	49.4	8,254	46.7	427	2.4	246	1.4			17,659
Russell	15,492	31.2	29,322	59.1	3,385	6.8	1,427	2.9			49,626
Simcoe East	12,835	52.8	8,688	35.8	2,346	9.7	423	1.7			24,292
Simcoe North	11,728	58.1	6,210	30.7	2,265	11.2					20,203
Stormont	11,293	45.4	11,363	45.7	946	3.8	1,256	5.1			24,858
Sudbury	7,719	25.3	17,628	57.8	4,320	14.2	849	2.8			30,516
Timiskaming	6,053	27.8	5,969	27.5	7,055	32.4	2,665	12.3			21,742
Timmins	4,676	23.7	5,439	27.5	8,834	44.7	805	4.1			19,754
Victoria	12,555	54.6	6,653	29.0	3,029	13.2	742	3.2			22,979
Waterloo North	21,262	44.3	17,762	37.0	7,722	16.1	1,260	2.6			48,006
Waterloo South	11,648	42.3	8,132	29.5	7,186	26.1	566	2.1			27,532
Welland	12,209	33.0	17,614	47.6	6,225	16.8	630	1.7	317	0.9	36,995
Wellington-Huron	7,455	48.4	5,344	34.7	2,616	17.0					15,415
Wellington South	11,345	42.0	8,508	31.5	6,989	25.9	174	0.6			27,016
Wentworth	17,050	41.2	16,434	39.7	7,070	17.1	806	1.9			41,360
York Centre	21,343	26.7	30,432	38.1	27,369	34.3	746	0.9			79,890
York East	16,827	37.1	16,963	37.4	10,940	24.1	609	1.3			45,339
York-Humber	14,864	34.9	15,526	36.5	11,622	27.3	564	1.3			42,576
York North	17,168	39.4	18,094	41.5	7,796	17.9	528	1.2			43,586
York-Scarborough	49,643	40.7	44,349	36.4	26,543	21.8	1,452	1.2			121,987
York South	12,552	26.6	15,423	32.6	19,101	40.4	179	0.4			47,255
York West	28,467	37.3	32,362	42.4	14,356	18.8	1,205	1.6			76,390
Totals	946,110	39.6	1,003,643	42.0	391,829	16.4	46,850	2.0	1,417	0.1	2,389,849
City of Toronto											
Broadview	8,929	40.7	7,658	34.9	5,330	24.3					21,917
Danforth	13,144	32.8	12,498	31.2	14,029	35.0	364	0.9			40,035
Davenport	6,713	31.5	9,101	42.6	5,181	24.3	117	0.5	231	1.1	21,343
Eglinton	18,648	45.5	17,888	43.6	4,113	10.0	341	0.8			40,990
Greenwood	8,694	35.5	6,338	25.9	9,238	37.7	233	1.0			24,503
High Park	9,089	35.3	11,388	44.3	4,903	19.1	348	1.4			25,728
Parkdale	8,946	34.8	10,780	41.9	5,759	22.4	224	0.9			25,709
Rosedale	9,597	40.3	10,191	42.8	3,778	15.9	240	1.0			23,806
St. Paul's	11,013	41.4	11,140	41.9	3,533	13.3	563	2.1	328	1.2	26,577
Spadina	9,088	34.0	11,982	44.8	5,026	18.8	227	0.8	415	1.6	26,738
Trinity	6,124	29.9	9,615	47.0	3,740	18.3	227	1.1	744	3.6	20,450
Totals	109,985	36.9	118,579	39.8	64,630	21.7	2,884	1.0	1,718	0.6	297,796
Province Totals	1,056,095	39.3	1,122,222	41.8	456,459	17.0	49,734	1.9	3,135	0.1	2,687,645
Rejected											31,375
Total Vote Cast											2,719,020
Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (85)											
Comm.	=	1,836									3
Ind.	=	1,038									3
CBC	=	261									1

Table 9–12 Ontario—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	6,146	29.6	10,817	52.2	1,751	8.4	2,016	9.7			20,730
Algoma West	10,119	29.9	14,023	41.4	9,351	27.6	355	1.0			33,848
Brantford	9,680	38.8	10,804	43.3	3,706	14.9	766	3.1			24,956
Brant—Haldimand	10,814	41.0	12,733	48.3	2,274	8.6	557	2.1			26,378
Bruce	7,451	51.5	6,401	44.3					611	4.2	14,463
Carleton	31,168	46.3	32,325	48.0	3,144	4.7	699	1.0			67,336
Cochrane	3,276	17.4	7,809	41.6	5,498	29.3	2,204	11.7			18,787
Dufferin—Simcoe	10,278	47.8	8,941	41.6	673	3.1	1,626	7.6			21,518
Durham	8,084	42.8	8,720	46.2	1,901	10.1	161	0.9			18,866
Elgin	13,957	48.5	12,910	44.9	1,127	3.9	757	2.6			28,751
Essex East	8,894	20.7	25,727	59.8	7,648	17.8	740	1.7			43,009
Essex South	12,178	47.7	12,947	50.7			419	1.6			25,544
Essex West	10,946	26.5	23,165	56.1	6,267	15.2	884	2.1			41,262
Fort William	6,618	25.2	11,765	44.7	7,619	29.0	309	1.2			26,311
Glengarry—Prescott	5,568	28.0	9,906	49.8	394	2.0	2,786	14.0	1,234	6.2	19,888
Grenville—Dundas	10,434	58.0	7,207	40.0	363	2.0					18,004
Grey—Bruce	10,535	57.0	6,981	37.8	399	2.2	566	3.1			18,481
Grey North	9,804	51.3	6,819	35.7	1,967	10.3	525	2.7			19,115
Halton	15,949	32.5	25,482	52.0	6,790	13.8	330	0.7	481	1.0	49,032
Hamilton East	7,644	27.2	13,167	46.9	7,015	25.0	240	0.9			28,066
Hamilton South	16,441	30.5	17,842	33.1	19,205	35.6	459	0.9			53,947
Hamilton West	10,849	35.0	13,701	44.2	5,709	18.4	442	1.4	283	0.9	30,984
Hastings—Frontenac	12,321	60.0	6,479	31.6	989	4.8	738	3.6			20,527
Hastings South	14,859	46.5	15,505	48.5	1,332	4.2	265	0.8			31,961
Huron	12,224	54.6	10,169	45.4							22,393
Kenora—Rainy River	10,221	37.8	16,794	62.2 ¹							27,015
Kent	15,381	48.3	15,179	47.6	924	2.9	388	1.2			31,872
Kingston	12,879	38.0	18,425	54.4	2,400	7.1	194	0.6			33,898
Lambton—Kent	9,520	47.7	9,496	47.5	576	2.9	379	1.9			19,971
Lambton West	12,592	38.8	15,978	49.2	3,626	11.2	264	0.8			32,460
Lanark	10,475	56.8	7,043	38.2	601	3.3	312	1.7			18,431
Leeds	9,899	45.0	12,113	55.0							22,012
Lincoln	21,345	38.5	25,902	46.8	5,315	9.6	2,841	5.1			55,403
London	15,700	46.3	14,262	42.1	3,335	9.8	599	1.8			33,896
Middlesex East	19,850	45.0	18,043	40.9	5,092	11.5	1,159	2.6			44,144
Middlesex West	10,247	48.5	9,320	44.1	1,327	6.3	232	1.1			21,126
Niagara Falls	8,863	28.4	18,749	60.2	3,555	11.4					31,167
Nickel Belt	7,268	24.5	13,414	45.2	5,486	18.5	3,524	11.9			29,692
Nipissing	7,283	26.2	16,547	59.6	2,351	8.5	1,587	5.7			27,768
Norfolk	10,115	44.5	10,862	47.8	1,156	5.1	594	2.6			22,727
Northumberland	9,838	46.4	10,343	48.8	621	2.9	388	1.8			21,190
Ontario	22,902	39.4	20,174	34.7	15,020	25.9					58,096
Ottawa East	3,964	15.7	12,043	47.6	1,433	5.7	930	3.7	6,923	27.4	25,293
Ottawa West	9,852	32.0	18,634	60.4	1,422	4.6	924	3.0			30,832
Oxford	19,402	60.4	10,359	32.3	1,550	4.8	805	2.5			32,116
Parry Sound—Muskoka	12,132	46.8	10,598	40.9	2,169	8.4	1,033	4.0			25,932
Peel	15,921	30.0	28,009	52.7	8,836	16.6	354	0.7			53,120
Perth	15,328	57.1	10,442	38.9	1,065	4.0					26,835

Table 9-12 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Peterborough	11,909	35.9	9,927	29.9	11,131	33.6	180	0.5			33,147
Port Arthur	6,316	17.7	13,132	36.9	16,141	45.4					35,589
Prince Edward—Lennox	8,869	51.1	7,516	43.3	863	5.0	117	0.7			17,365
Renfrew North	9,089	39.0	11,580	49.6	947	4.1	1,712	7.3			23,328
Renfrew South	8,210	46.4	8,765	49.6	316	1.8	393	2.2			17,684
Russell	14,892	28.5	31,182	59.7	3,191	6.1	2,938	5.6			52,203
Simcoe East	12,662	50.5	9,324	37.2	2,031	8.1	1,054	4.2			25,071
Simcoe North	10,157	45.9	8,374	37.8	963	4.4	1,961	8.9	678	3.1	22,133
Stormont	9,728	39.4	13,285	53.9	801	3.2	851	3.5			24,665
Sudbury	8,597	26.6	15,794	48.8	5,472	16.9	2,180	6.7	311	1.0	32,354
Timiskaming	5,540	25.5	6,763	31.2	7,356	33.9	2,033	9.4			21,692
Timmins	3,068	15.5	7,592	38.3	8,452	42.6	719	3.6			19,831
Victoria	10,538	45.6	9,572	41.4	2,994	13.0					23,104
Waterloo North	22,007	43.4	21,366	42.1	6,200	12.2	1,157	2.3			50,730
Waterloo South	11,479	40.9	8,792	31.3	7,403	26.4	372	1.3			28,046
Welland	9,291	25.8	19,879	55.3	5,010	13.9	1,413	3.9	372	1.0	35,965
Wellington—Huron	8,391	54.7	5,809	37.8	1,152	7.5					15,352
Wellington South	11,350	39.7	10,713	37.5	6,391	22.3	150	0.5			28,604
Wentworth	17,640	39.8	18,589	41.9	8,088	18.3					44,317
York Centre	12,807	15.5	41,485	50.1	28,505	34.4					82,797
York East	14,777	31.2	21,038	44.4	11,234	23.7	349	0.7			47,398
York—Humber	12,218	27.6	20,188	45.6	11,821	26.7					44,227
York North	14,488	32.1	21,668	48.1	8,591	19.1	330	0.7			45,077
York—Scarborough	41,535	31.4	63,049	47.7	26,819	20.3	895	0.7			132,298
York South	9,648	20.1	21,042	43.8	17,396	36.2					48,086
York West	24,479	30.3	41,480	51.4	14,003	17.4	697	0.9			80,659
Totals	896,899	36.2	1,142,978	46.1	376,253	15.2	53,852	2.2	10,893	0.4	2,480,875
City of Toronto											
Broadview	6,684	31.3	8,743	40.9	5,574	26.1	166	0.8	192	0.9	21,359
Danforth	10,835	26.7	14,701	36.2	14,903	36.7	212	0.5			40,651
Davenport	4,520	22.4	11,023	54.7	4,347	21.6	245	1.2			20,135
Eglinton	13,984	33.8	22,215	53.7	5,151	12.5					41,350
Greenwood	7,221	29.5	7,207	29.4	9,421	38.5	224	0.9	420	1.7	24,493
High Park	7,045	28.5	13,034	52.8	4,425	17.9	203	0.8			24,707
Parkdale	6,308	25.4	12,694	51.2	5,538	22.3	259	1.0			24,799
Rosedale	6,803	29.0	12,860	54.9	3,534	15.1	240	1.0			23,437
St. Paul's	7,795	27.8	15,891	56.7	3,794	13.5	543	1.9			28,023
Spadina	6,094	22.4	14,850	54.7	5,888	21.7	332	1.2			27,164
Trinity	5,171	26.3	10,595	53.9	3,512	17.9			391	2.0	19,669
Totals	82,460	27.9	143,813	48.6	66,087	22.3	2,424	0.8	1,003	0.3	295,787
Province Totals	979,359	35.3	1,286,791	46.3	442,340	15.9	56,276	2.0	11,896	0.4	2,776,662
Rejected											23,208
Total Vote Cast											2,799,870

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (85)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (85)
Ind. Lib. = 7,808	2	Ind. = 760	2
Comm. = 1,777	5	Soc. Lab. = 43	1
Ind. PC = 1,508	3	¹ Candidate ran as Liberal-Labour.	

Table 9-13 Ontario—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma East	5,793	33.8	9,268	54.2	2,053	12.0					17,114
Algoma West	11,914	35.6	12,034	35.9	9,564	28.5					33,512
Brantford	7,825	32.4	9,948	41.2	6,176	25.6	208	0.9			24,157
Brant-Haldimand	7,909	30.5	13,179	50.9	4,813	18.6					25,901
Bruce	6,846	49.9	5,424	39.6	1,443	10.5					13,713
Carleton	32,456	43.9	31,523	42.6	9,953	13.5					73,932
Cochrane	3,025	16.5	7,505	40.9	6,685	36.4	837	4.6	316	1.7	18,368
Dufferin-Simcoe	9,701	47.3	6,420	31.3	3,384	16.5	984	4.8			20,489
Durham	6,725	35.6	8,017	42.5	3,948	20.9	177	0.9			18,867
Elgin	12,309	44.4	13,343	48.2	1,530	5.5	520	1.9			27,702
Essex East	8,142	19.9	26,094	63.8	6,133	15.0			543	1.3	40,912
Essex South	10,072	41.5	12,887	53.1	1,329	5.5					24,288
Essex West	10,298	26.8	21,525	56.1	5,739	15.0	379	1.0	413	1.1	38,354
Fort William	4,773	18.2	12,432	47.5	8,993	34.3					26,198
Glengarry-Prescott	6,529	33.9	10,339	53.7	1,173	6.1			1,204	6.3	19,245
Grenville-Dundas	9,845	56.7	6,930	39.9	595	3.4					17,370
Grey-Bruce	10,138	58.0	5,639	32.3	1,706	9.8					17,483
Grey North	9,222	49.2	7,003	37.4	2,510	13.4					18,735
Halton	16,412	31.1	25,213	47.8	10,751	20.4			373	0.7	52,749
Hamilton East	5,725	22.2	12,692	49.1	7,314	28.3	103	0.4			25,834
Hamilton South	11,425	21.1	19,693	36.3	22,736	41.9	359	0.7			54,213
Hamilton West	10,888	35.5	13,247	43.2	6,297	20.6	199	0.6			30,631
Hastings-Frontenac	11,290	64.0	5,034	28.5	1,317	7.5					17,641
Hastings South	14,824	48.2	14,569	47.4	1,338	4.4					30,731
Huron	10,670	49.6	9,537	44.3	1,311	6.1					21,518
Kenora-Rainy River	7,789	30.0	11,488	44.3	6,650	25.6					25,927
Kent	15,472	50.9	13,667	45.0	1,231	4.1					30,370
Kingston	12,766	39.5	16,022	49.6	3,530	10.9					32,318
Lambton-Kent	10,303	52.3	9,413	47.7							19,716
Lambton West	12,230	37.8	12,805	39.5	7,346	22.7					32,381
Lanark	9,784	55.2	6,826	38.5	775	4.4	335	1.9			17,720
Leeds	10,066	47.1	10,365	48.5	946	4.4					21,377
Lincoln	19,324	34.8	25,820	46.6	8,395	15.1	1,913	3.4			55,452
London	13,763	45.8	11,164	37.2	4,412	14.7			693	2.3	30,032
Middlesex East	15,859	33.7	17,675	37.6	13,073	27.8	392	0.8			46,999
Middlesex West	9,768	46.0	9,405	44.3	2,067	9.7					21,240
Niagara Falls	7,442	25.1	17,794	60.1	3,361	11.4	346	1.2	657	2.2	29,600
Nickel Belt	5,055	19.2	10,374	39.5	10,863	41.3					26,292
Nipissing	5,653	23.1	14,025	57.4	4,763	19.5					24,441
Norfolk	9,724	45.4	9,833	45.9	1,532	7.2	319	1.5			21,408
Northumberland	10,876	49.7	10,313	47.1	712	3.3					21,901
Ontario	22,752	37.6	20,515	33.9	16,207	26.8			1,026	1.7	60,500
Ottawa East	4,101	18.8	15,107	69.4	2,564	11.8					21,772
Ottawa West	8,604	33.0	14,945	57.2	2,057	7.9	504	1.9			26,110
Oxford	17,657	55.6	10,202	32.2	3,870	12.2					31,729
Parry Sound-Muskoka	11,777	52.4	6,922	30.8	3,773	16.8					22,472
Peel	17,955	29.5	29,057	47.7	13,404	22.0	551	0.9			60,967
Perth	13,558	55.2	9,309	37.9	1,712	7.0					24,579

Table 9-13 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Peterborough	11,693	35.1	12,335	37.0	9,327	28.0					33,355
Port Arthur	8,075	23.0	14,706	42.0	12,275	35.0					35,056
Prince Edward-Lennox	9,064	55.2	6,311	38.4	1,043	6.4					16,418
Renfrew North	5,846	27.1	10,882	50.5	2,021	9.4			2,812	13.0	21,561
Renfrew South	7,505	44.1	8,932	52.5	581	3.4					17,018
Russell	15,718	30.3	28,997	55.9	7,186	13.8					51,901
Simcoe East	11,648	47.5	9,281	37.8	3,597	14.7					24,526
Simcoe North	9,513	45.5	8,590	41.1	1,677	8.0	1,109	5.3			20,889
Stormont	7,458	30.8	13,530	55.9	3,201	13.2					24,189
Sudbury	5,675	19.1	13,247	44.6	10,749	36.2					29,671
Timiskaming	3,823	19.4	5,885	29.9	9,986	50.7					19,694
Timmins	2,715	14.0	6,456	33.4	10,071	52.1			100	0.5	19,342
Victoria	11,282	48.3	8,828	37.8	3,230	13.8					23,340
Waterloo North	17,790	33.2	24,733	46.1	11,074	20.7					53,597
Waterloo South	9,678	33.5	5,886	20.4	13,337	46.1					28,901
Welland	8,496	23.9	17,869	50.2	9,206	25.9					35,571
Wellington-Huron	7,792	53.8	5,385	37.2	1,304	9.0					14,481
Wellington South	11,264	38.8	8,595	29.6	9,190	31.6					29,049
Wentworth	15,991	33.4	17,746	37.1	13,735	28.7	362	0.8			47,834
York Centre	15,301	17.1	41,553	46.4	32,352	36.1			302	0.3	89,508
York East	15,312	32.3	18,840	39.8	13,045	27.5	194	0.4			47,391
York-Humber	11,325	27.3	17,172	41.4	12,792	30.8			235	0.6	41,524
York North	16,459	36.5	18,207	40.4	10,438	23.1					45,104
York-Scarborough	54,659	37.0	58,501	39.6	33,821	22.9			600	0.4	147,581
York South	6,427	13.9	18,098	39.2	21,693	46.9					46,218
York West	27,071	29.5	43,807	47.7	20,993	22.9					91,871
Totals	854,614	34.6	1,076,913	43.6	519,958	21.0	9,791	0.4	9,274	0.4	2,470,550
Metropolitan Toronto											
Broadview	5,481	26.4	6,876	33.2	8,232	39.7			147	0.7	20,736
Danforth	9,242	23.4	10,906	27.6	19,320	49.0					39,468
Davenport	3,907	23.1	9,887	58.4	2,918	17.2			224	1.3	16,936
Eglinton	16,777	40.9	18,719	45.6	5,538	13.5					41,034
Greenwood	5,573	25.2	5,952	26.9	10,590	47.9					22,115
High Park	6,652	29.6	11,171	49.7	4,650	20.7					22,473
Parkdale	6,104	26.2	11,974	51.5	5,194	22.3					23,272
Rosedale	7,487	34.4	9,757	44.8	4,514	20.7					21,758
St. Paul's	8,204	32.5	12,251	48.5	4,821	19.1					25,276
Spadina	5,337	23.1	12,005	51.9	5,604	24.2			174	0.8	23,120
Trinity	4,375	25.7	9,897	58.1	2,773	16.3					17,045
Totals	79,139	29.0	119,395	43.7	74,154	27.1			545	0.2	273,233
Province Totals	933,753	34.0	1,196,308	43.6	594,112	21.7	9,791	0.4	9,819	0.4	2,743,783
Rejected											26,439
Total Vote Cast											2,770,222
Vote Cast for "Other":											
Ind. = 5,391		Ridings (85)	7		Vote Cast for "Other":		Ind. PC = 1,030		Ridings (85)		
RC = 1,204			1				New Cap. = 1,009		3		
Comm. = 1,038			3				Soc. Lab. = 147		1		

Table 9–14 Ontario—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma	5,270	27.9	9,542	50.6	4,057	21.5					18,869
Brant	11,901	29.6	16,029	39.8	12,333	30.6					40,263
Bruce	11,674	42.7	12,775	46.7	2,911	10.6					27,360
Cochrane	2,875	14.3	9,803	48.7	7,034	34.9	433	2.1			20,145
Elgin	11,799	40.9	12,856	44.5	4,227	14.6					28,882
Essex	5,485	18.5	14,707	49.7	9,399	31.8					29,591
Fort William	7,284	28.8	10,635	42.0	7,394	29.2					25,313
Frontenac–Lennox and Addington	11,801	47.1	9,953	39.7	2,730	10.9			571	2.3	25,055
Glengarry–Prescott	7,564	31.3	14,970	62.0	1,606	6.7					24,140
Grenville–Carleton	18,843	42.8	21,250	48.3	3,887	8.8					43,980
Grey–Simcoe	13,146	47.0	11,204	40.1	3,623	13.0					27,973
Halton	12,614	34.0	17,837	48.1	6,606	17.8					37,057
Halton–Wentworth	18,043	38.1	19,563	41.3	9,312	19.7			399	0.8	47,317
Hamilton East	5,633	18.5	15,273	50.2	9,210	30.3			297	1.0	30,413
Hamilton Mountain	10,583	24.5	17,794	41.2	14,838	34.3					43,215
Hamilton–Wentworth	10,059	26.5	14,979	39.5	12,852	33.9					37,890
Hamilton West	13,580	40.4	13,238	39.4	6,809	20.2					33,627
Hastings	13,555	49.1	10,875	39.4	3,195	11.6					27,625
Huron	14,652	54.6	10,960	40.9	1,212	4.5					26,824
Kenora–Rainy River	4,655	22.7	10,144	49.5 ¹	5,711	27.8					20,510
Kent–Essex	15,195	49.3	13,077	42.5	2,528	8.2					30,800
Kingston and the Islands	11,799	36.1	16,234	49.7	4,636	14.2					32,669
Kitchener	11,217	27.7	16,471	40.7	12,799	31.6					40,487
Lambton–Kent	14,460	51.8	11,094	39.8	2,342	8.4					27,896
Lanark and Renfrew	12,737	45.9	13,156	47.4	1,861	6.7					27,754
Leeds	13,536	46.6	13,532	46.5	2,005	6.9					29,073
Lincoln	12,692	38.7	13,328	40.7	6,763	20.6					32,783
London East	10,079	31.8	11,823	37.3	9,703	30.6			89	0.3	31,694
London West	18,462	41.8	21,764	49.3	3,891	8.8					44,117
Middlesex	15,284	43.7	15,986	45.7	3,743	10.7					35,013
Niagara Falls	10,825	32.0	17,183	50.7	5,861	17.3					33,869
Nickel Belt	4,439	17.3	11,551	45.1	9,621	37.6					25,611
Nipissing	8,412	33.4	13,524	53.7	3,267	13.0					25,203
Norfolk–Haldimand	14,908	47.4	13,132	41.7	3,441	10.9					31,481
Northumberland–Durham	11,141	36.2	13,707	44.6	5,897	19.2					30,745
Ontario	10,579	33.4	13,483	42.6	7,607	24.0					31,669
Oshawa–Whitby	15,209	33.6	14,899	32.9	15,224	33.6					45,332
Ottawa–Carleton	11,665	26.7	28,987	66.2	3,115	7.1					43,767
Ottawa Centre	11,602	34.2	19,578	57.7	2,729	8.0					33,909
Ottawa East	4,186	12.6	26,170	78.6	2,921	8.8					33,277
Ottawa West	16,392	36.3	23,750	52.6	5,003	11.1					45,145
Oxford	18,504	53.6	12,697	36.8	3,335	9.7					34,536
Parry Sound–Muskoka	12,045	47.7	9,622	38.1	3,568	14.1					25,235

Table 9-14 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Peel-Dufferin-Simcoe	14,138	35.3	18,950	47.3	6,972	17.4					40,060
Peel South	19,065	36.8	24,255	46.8	8,498	16.4					51,818
Perth	14,959	48.5	12,864	41.7	3,009	9.8					30,832
Peterborough	12,972	34.8	15,675	42.1	8,593	23.1					37,240
Port Arthur	4,179	18.3	11,079	48.6	7,306	32.0			233	1.0	22,797
Prince Edward-Hastings	15,682	50.8	12,614	40.9	2,569	8.3					30,865
Renfrew North	7,976	34.7	13,195	57.4	1,813	7.9					22,984
Sarnia	12,883	40.0	14,573	45.3	4,733	14.7					32,189
Sault Ste. Marie	11,529	36.7	12,527	39.8	7,297	23.2			102	0.3	31,455
St. Catharines	14,544	36.5	18,100	45.4	7,185	18.0					39,829
Simcoe North	16,619	45.8	14,936	41.2	4,730	13.0					36,285
Stormont-Dundas ²					5,409	24.1			17,014	75.9	22,423
Sudbury	5,696	15.1	19,672	52.3	12,260	32.6					37,628
Thunder Bay	4,904	23.9	9,540	46.5	6,081	29.6					20,525
Timiskaming	4,443	21.2	7,728	36.9	8,482	40.5	288	1.4			20,941
Timmins	2,118	9.6	11,141	50.5	8,807	39.9					22,066
Victoria-Haliburton	12,621	47.6	10,263	38.7	3,374	12.7			258	1.0	26,516
Waterloo	14,568	32.5	14,835	33.1	15,231	34.0	167	0.4			44,801
Welland	6,129	17.6	17,335	49.8	11,363	32.6					34,827
Wellington	13,496	44.5	11,842	39.0	5,012	16.5					30,350
Wellington-Grey	12,118	44.4	12,027	44.1	2,902	10.6			224	0.8	27,271
Windsor-Walkerville	5,191	14.9	17,090	49.1	12,090	34.8			408	1.2	34,779
Windsor West	5,002	16.4	16,442	54.1	8,972	29.5					30,416
York North	15,693	33.6	24,054	51.5	7,000	15.0					46,747
York-Simcoe	13,100	37.3	15,906	45.3	6,095	17.4					35,101
Totals	756,009	34.4	995,778	45.3	426,589	19.4	888	0	19,595	0.9	2,198,859
Metropolitan Toronto											
Broadview	4,752	18.8	9,929	39.3	10,406	41.1			202	0.8	25,289
Davenport	4,688	22.0	10,736	50.4	5,865	27.5					21,289
Don Valley	22,359	41.7	27,335	51.0	3,863	7.2					53,557
Eglinton	11,155	28.5	23,215	59.2	4,654	11.9			164	0.4	39,188
Etobicoke	17,799	31.1	32,066	56.0	7,432	13.0					57,297
Greenwood	8,268	25.7	11,755	36.6	12,117	37.7					32,140
High Park	10,743	28.1	16,260	42.5	8,131	21.3			3,110	8.1	38,244
Lakeshore	6,794	20.2	14,464	43.0	12,367	36.8					33,625
Parkdale	5,057	17.6	14,717	51.2	8,983	31.2					28,757
Rosedale	9,683	29.2	19,011	57.4	4,083	12.3			331	1.0	33,108
St. Paul's	10,882	30.8	20,981	59.4	2,743	7.8			712	2.0	35,318
Scarborough East	12,477	25.2	23,701	47.9	13,265	26.8					49,443
Scarborough West	7,340	21.2	14,889	42.9	12,473	35.9					34,702
Spadina	3,353	20.1	9,379	56.2	3,943	23.6					16,675
Trinity	5,360	23.7	13,126	57.9	4,177	18.4					22,663

Table 9-14 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
York Centre	5,804	12.3	26,758	56.6	14,714	31.1					47,276
York East	12,155	28.0	19,320	44.5	11,921	27.5					43,396
York-Scarborough	15,458	24.3	37,374	58.8	10,724	16.9					63,556
York South	4,499	15.8	11,693	41.0	12,357	43.3					28,549
York West	8,344	18.3	20,416	44.8	16,204	35.6			597	1.3	45,561
Totals	186,970	24.9	377,125	50.3	180,422	24.1			5,116	0.7	749,633
Province Totals	942,979	32.0	1,372,903	46.6	607,011	20.6	888	0	24,711	0.8	2,948,492
Rejected											25,253
Total Vote Cast											2,973,745

Vote Cast for "Other":			Ridings (88)	Elected	Vote Cast for "Other":			Ridings (88)	Elected
Ind.	=	18,419	7	1	Soc. Lab.	=	202	1	
Ind. Lib.	=	3,714	3		New Can.	=	148	1	
Comm.	=	1,568	6		Nat. Soc.	=	89	1	
Ind. PC	=	571	1						

¹ Candidate ran as Liberal-Labour.

² Seat won by an Independent.

Table 9-15 Ontario—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma	6,721	30.4	10,160	45.9	4,599	20.8	508	2.3	150	0.7	22,138
Brant	11,711	25.2	14,730	31.7	20,002	43.1					46,443
Bruce	14,297	43.3	14,974	45.3	3,772	11.4					33,043
Cochrane	4,626	20.9	10,405	47.0	5,405	24.4	1,477	6.7	204	0.9	22,117
Elgin	17,281	51.0	13,289	39.2	3,345	9.9					33,915
Essex-Windsor	4,929	12.0	19,793	48.0	16,503	40.0					41,225
Fort William	10,263	35.0	11,545	39.4	7,497	25.6					29,305
Frontenac-Lennox and Addington	16,563	56.8	9,296	31.9	3,283	11.3					29,142
Glengarry-Prescott- Russell	6,924	24.4	14,780	52.1	2,495	8.8	1,710	6.0	2,479	8.7	28,388
Grenville-Carleton	32,689	53.5	22,026	36.0	6,405	10.5					61,120
Grey-Simcoe	17,092	49.7	11,198	32.6	5,093	14.8	1,004	2.9			34,387
Halton	22,640	43.7	20,419	39.4	8,725	16.8					51,784
Halton-Wentworth	31,150	49.3	21,450	33.9	10,630	16.8					63,230
Hamilton East	8,601	28.4	13,053	43.1	8,351	27.6	108	0.4	190	0.6	30,303
Hamilton Mountain	21,713	41.0	17,477	33.0	13,604	25.7	183	0.3			52,977
Hamilton-Wentworth	18,611	38.5	14,755	30.5	14,520	30.0	143	0.3	294	0.6	48,323
Hamilton West	19,837	52.6	12,204	32.4	5,420	14.4			218	0.6	37,679
Hastings	16,591	52.9	11,391	36.3	3,378	10.8					31,360
Huron	18,921	64.3	8,570	29.1	1,852	6.3			85	0.3	29,428
Kenora-Rainy River	8,238	35.8	9,241	40.2	5,263	22.9			272	1.2	23,014
Kent-Essex	18,837	53.2	11,981	33.9	4,559	12.9					35,377

Table 9-15 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kingston and the Islands	22,824	53.4	14,079	33.0	5,807	13.6					42,710
Kitchener	18,104	37.9	18,351	38.4	11,272	23.6					47,727
Lambton-Kent	16,306	53.5	11,187	36.7	2,970	9.7					30,463
Lanark-Renfrew-Carleton	17,893	54.2	13,283	40.3	1,819	5.5					32,995
Leeds	18,130	53.9	10,650	31.7	4,850	14.4					33,630
Lincoln	16,840	44.6	13,562	35.9	6,714	17.8	612	1.6			37,728
London East	12,957	34.7	14,022	37.6	10,355	27.7					37,334
London West	20,611	34.9	29,474	50.0	8,914	15.1					58,999
Middlesex	20,615	46.3	17,244	38.7	6,643	14.9					44,502
Niagara Falls	15,701	40.6	14,978	38.7	7,705	19.9	270	0.7			38,654
Nickel Belt	3,817	12.5	12,101	39.7	14,033	46.0	534	1.8			30,485
Nipissing	10,812	36.0	12,451	41.5	6,276	20.9	457	1.5			29,996
Norfolk-Haldimand	21,214	54.7	14,106	36.4	3,116	8.0	339	0.9			38,775
Northumberland-Durham	17,385	45.2	14,594	37.9	6,504	16.9					38,483
Ontario	16,324	38.7	16,328	38.7	9,498	22.5					42,150
Oshawa-Whitby	22,933	40.4	10,027	17.6	23,757	41.8			98	0.2	56,815
Ottawa-Carleton	22,641	34.3	31,316	47.4	11,225	17.0	839	1.3			66,021
Ottawa Centre	12,899	35.2	14,101	38.5	9,195	25.1	237	0.6	177		36,609
Ottawa East	6,029	18.5	20,446	62.7	4,672	14.3	1,229	3.8	208	0.6	32,584
Ottawa West	22,169	40.8	18,423	33.9	13,498	24.8	245	0.5			54,335
Oxford	25,438	62.5	12,540	30.8	2,703	6.6					40,681
Parry Sound-Muskoka	14,297	47.5	8,828	29.3	6,983	23.2					30,108
Peel-Dufferin-Simcoe	25,663	45.7	20,759	37.0	9,061	16.1	205	0.4	482	0.9	56,170
Peel South	31,981	39.3	30,305	37.3	18,553	22.8			461	0.6	81,300
Perth-Wilmot	19,859	55.8	11,684	32.8	4,069	11.4					35,612
Peterborough	17,885	40.1	20,282	45.5	6,422	14.4					44,589
Port Arthur	6,027	22.2	14,351	52.9	6,756	24.9					27,134
Prince Edward-Hastings	19,842	59.5	10,353	31.0	3,168	9.5					33,363
Renfrew North-Nipissing											
East	8,440	33.5	13,553	53.8	3,177	12.6					25,170
Sarnia-Lambton	14,647	38.9	16,112	42.8	6,901	18.3					37,660
Sault Ste. Marie	9,603	27.4	12,639	36.1	12,803	36.5					35,045
St. Catharines	19,257	40.0	18,442	38.3	9,683	20.1	538	1.1	250	0.5	48,170
Simcoe North	22,145	47.9	15,038	32.6	9,016	19.5					46,199
Stormont-Dundas ¹	12,364	37.5			3,108	9.4			17,485	53.1	32,597
Sudbury	5,913	13.5	24,091	55.1	13,748	31.4					43,752
Thunder Bay	5,095	22.7	11,048	49.2	6,309	28.1					22,452
Timiskaming	3,317	14.3	7,768	33.6	11,327	49.0	718	3.1			23,130
Timmins	2,997	12.3	10,804	44.3	9,819	40.3	770	3.2			24,390
Victoria-Haliburton	18,450	57.7	9,711	30.4	3,826	12.0					31,987
Waterloo	19,817	33.1	15,570	26.0	24,197	40.5	143	0.2	55	0.1	59,782
Welland	11,977	31.6	18,693	49.3	7,256	19.1					37,926
Wellington	20,730	53.1	11,022	28.2	7,050	18.1			241	0.6	39,043
Wellington-Grey-Dufferin-											
Waterloo	17,080	50.9	11,640	34.7	4,846	14.4					33,566
Windsor-Walkerville	7,208	18.3	17,298	43.8	14,662	37.1			317	0.8	39,485
Windsor West	5,441	14.9	17,966	49.2	13,110	35.9					36,517

Table 9-15 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
York North	25,844	39.7	28,123	43.2	11,065	17.0					65,032
York-Simcoe	22,957	45.7	19,178	38.2	8,046	16.0					50,181
Totals	1,078,713	40.0	1,021,258	37.9	561,188	20.8	12,269	0.5	23,940	0.2	2,697,368
Metropolitan Toronto											
Broadview	7,903	29.7	7,465	28.1	11,063	41.6			177	0.7	26,608
Davenport	6,442	30.1	9,366	43.7	5,272	24.6			350	1.6	21,430
Don Valley	30,764	50.8	24,629	40.7	5,110	8.4					60,503
Eglinton	17,819	41.8	19,389	45.5	5,245	12.3			132	0.3	42,585
Etobicoke	28,896	40.5	32,008	44.8	10,299	14.4			214	0.3	71,417
Greenwood	11,190	33.5	7,722	23.1	14,261	42.7	117	0.4	79	0.2	33,369
High Park-Humber Valley	18,329	42.4	16,426	38.0	8,197	18.9			327	0.8	43,279
Parkdale	8,990	32.2	12,214	43.8	6,478	23.2			201	0.7	27,883
Rosedale	14,856	40.7	16,073	44.0	4,598	12.6			987	2.7	36,514
St. Paul's	15,676	42.1	14,848	39.9	4,376	11.8	87	0.2	2,225	6.0	37,212
Scarborough East	27,301	40.0	25,837	37.9	14,731	21.6	227	0.3	77	0.1	68,173
Scarborough West	12,539	30.4	13,635	33.0	15,028	36.4			103	0.2	41,305
Spadina	5,616	28.0	8,334	41.6	5,622	28.0			485	2.4	20,057
Toronto-Lakeshore	9,004	24.1	13,393	35.9	14,722	39.4			226	0.6	37,345
Trinity	8,518	40.5	8,334	39.6	3,725	17.7			464	2.2	21,041
York Centre	19,097	29.8	26,912	41.9	17,837	27.8			342	0.5	64,188
York East	18,729	39.1	18,039	37.7	10,876	22.7			217	0.6	47,861
York-Scarborough	37,368	40.1	39,219	42.1	16,584	17.8					93,171
York South	6,401	21.1	9,551	31.5	14,225	46.9			172	0.6	30,349
York West	14,997	26.6	22,270	39.5	18,639	33.1	237	0.4	251	0.4	56,394
Totals	320,435	36.4	345,664	39.2	206,888	23.5	668	0.1	7,029	0.8	880,684
Province Totals	1,399,148	39.1	1,366,922	38.2	768,076	21.5	12,937	0.4	30,969	0.9	3,578,052
Rejected											72,490
Total Vote Cast											3,650,542

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (88)

None = 23,071 27
Ind. = 7,898 13

¹This seat was won by a candidate who did not have a party designation.

Table 9-16 Ontario—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma	5,136	23.5	11,360	52.0	5,240	24.0			100	0.5	21,836
Brant	9,228	20.0	17,410	37.6	19,453	42.1			158	0.3	46,249
Bruce	15,346	42.5	17,158	47.5	3,586	9.9					36,090
Cochrane	2,957	14.1	11,379	54.3	5,539	26.4			1,099	5.2	20,974
Elgin	15,851	47.0	13,349	39.6	4,373	13.0	126	0.4			33,699
Essex—Windsor	4,148	9.4	24,357	55.2	15,656	35.5					44,161
Fort William	6,129	21.7	13,789	48.8	8,094	28.7			221	0.8	28,233
Frontenac—Lennox and Addington	14,102	48.3	10,961	37.5	4,157	14.2					29,220
Glengarry—Prescott— Russell	6,595	21.6	18,478	60.5	5,484	17.9					30,557
Grenville—Carleton	33,946	54.4	22,803	36.5	5,679	9.1					62,428
Grey—Simcoe	15,917	46.4	13,235	38.6	4,490	13.1	678	2.0			34,320
Halton	21,609	41.5	23,520	45.2	6,887	13.2					52,016
Halton—Wentworth	26,798	43.4	26,130	42.3	8,877	14.4					61,805
Hamilton East	6,004	21.4	15,298	54.4	6,532	23.2	62	0.2	209	0.7	28,105
Hamilton Mountain	17,922	35.3	22,253	43.9	10,304	20.3			239	0.5	50,718
Hamilton—Wentworth	18,874	39.5	17,869	37.4	11,029	23.1					47,772
Hamilton West	15,421	45.2	13,162	38.6	4,890	14.3	363	1.1	255	0.7	34,091
Hastings	14,893	48.1	12,474	40.3	3,382	10.9	194	0.6			30,943
Huron—Middlesex	17,186	59.2	10,103	34.8	1,752	6.0					29,041
Kenora—Rainy River	7,821	34.0	10,319	44.8	4,894	21.2					23,034
Kent—Essex	14,641	40.7	17,800	49.4	3,558	9.9					35,999
Kingston and the Islands	17,839	46.2	13,943	36.1	6,870	17.8					38,652
Kitchener	15,975	33.2	21,091	43.8	10,859	22.5			258	0.5	48,183
Lambton—Kent	14,315	48.4	12,483	42.2	2,764	9.3					29,562
Lanark—Renfrew—Carleton	18,242	52.6	13,009	37.5	3,428	9.9					34,679
Leeds	17,744	53.4	10,845	32.6	4,659	14.0					33,248
Lincoln	14,221	36.6	17,499	45.0	6,548	16.8	611	1.6			38,879
London East	9,029	24.7	18,429	50.3	8,949	24.4			200	0.5	36,607
London West	17,893	31.2	32,188	56.1	7,142	12.4			170	0.3	57,393
Middlesex—London— Lambton	17,905	40.5	20,703	46.9	5,382	12.2			180	0.4	44,170
Mississauga	34,080	39.1	38,517	44.2	14,276	16.4			340	0.4	87,213
Niagara Falls	12,225	31.6	20,618	53.3	5,607	14.5	254	0.7			38,704
Nickel Belt	4,371	12.3	13,451	37.9	17,668	49.8					35,490
Nipissing	8,609	28.1	16,549	54.0	5,477	17.9					30,635
Norfolk—Haldimand	17,867	48.4	15,604	42.3	3,426	9.3					36,897
Northumberland—Durham	16,824	43.3	14,896	38.3	7,136	18.4					38,856
Ontario	15,590	36.8	20,096	47.5	6,649	15.7					42,335
Oshawa—Whitby	11,412	22.2	14,783	28.8	25,013	48.7			191	0.4	51,399
Ottawa—Carleton	27,588	38.3	38,463	53.4	6,014	8.3					72,065
Ottawa Centre	12,138	34.4	15,308	43.3	6,739	19.1	139	0.4	1,002	2.8	35,326
Ottawa—Vanier	5,603	17.6	21,773	68.3	3,298	10.3	976	3.1	221	0.7	31,871
Ottawa West	21,838	41.4	23,604	44.8	6,480	12.3	192	0.4	577	1.1	52,691
Oxford	18,934	46.4	17,506	42.9	4,398	10.8					40,838

Table 9-16 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Parry Sound-Muskoka	14,030	44.2	11,499	36.3	6,178	19.5					31,707
Peel-Dufferin-Simcoe	22,754	38.7	27,299	46.5	8,264	14.1	271	0.5	153	0.3	58,741
Perth-Wilmot	17,636	50.2	13,997	39.8	3,503	10.0					35,136
Peterborough	14,891	33.1	23,865	53.1	6,171	13.7					44,927
Port Arthur	3,322	12.5	14,523	54.5	8,591	32.2			218	0.8	26,654
Prince Edward-Hastings	19,219	53.8	12,504	35.0	3,727	10.4			277	0.8	35,727
Renfrew North-Nipissing											
East	7,561	28.4	14,613	55.0	4,419	16.6					26,593
Sarnia-Lambton	9,579	26.0	20,661	56.2	6,217	16.9			329	0.9	36,786
Sault Ste. Marie	3,098	8.2	15,490	41.1	19,044	50.5			76	0.2	37,708
St. Catharines	16,402	33.7	22,528	46.2	9,147	18.8	443	0.9	198	0.4	48,718
Simcoe North	18,950	40.2	17,068	36.2	10,502	22.3	267	0.6	330	0.7	47,117
Stormont-Dundas	13,895	40.2	18,047	52.3	2,587	7.5					34,529
Sudbury	7,646	17.2	23,374	52.6	13,200	29.7			210	0.5	44,430
Thunder Bay	4,021	19.2	11,435	54.6	5,475	26.2					20,931
Timiskaming	4,615	21.0	6,598	30.0	10,263	46.7	492	2.2			21,968
Timmins	4,098	16.2	12,904	51.1	7,681	30.4	472	1.9	90	0.4	25,245
Victoria-Haliburton	17,570	53.5	11,002	33.5	4,245	12.9					32,817
Waterloo-Cambridge	17,394	28.4	18,034	29.4	25,479	41.6	253	0.4	122	0.2	61,282
Welland	9,107	24.2	21,228	56.5	6,983	18.6			238	0.6	37,556
Wellington	14,099	35.9	18,171	46.2	6,165	15.7			863	2.2	39,298
Wellington-Grey-Dufferin-											
Waterloo	17,253	50.7	12,500	36.7	4,297	12.6					34,050
Windsor-Walkerville	6,752	16.9	19,009	47.7	13,825	34.7			255	0.6	39,841
Windsor West	4,466	12.8	19,474	56.0	10,630	30.6			222	0.6	34,792
York North	26,386	38.5	34,179	49.8	7,669	11.2	364	0.5			68,598
York-Simcoe	23,591	47.0	18,927	37.7	7,630	15.2					50,148
Totals	959,101	35.4	1,213,494	44.7	524,530	19.3	6,157	0.2	9,188	0.3	2,712,470
Metropolitan Toronto											
Broadview	5,617	23.9	8,158	34.7	9,392	39.9			366	1.6	23,533
Davenport	4,542	22.0	12,294	59.6	3,476	16.8			320	1.6	20,632
Don Valley	29,180	50.7	23,802	41.4	4,104	7.1			416	0.7	57,502
Eglinton	16,812	41.1	19,951	48.8	3,798	9.3			307	0.8	40,868
Etobicoke	28,193	38.2	37,847	51.3	7,337	10.0			347	0.5	73,724
Greenwood	9,589	30.1	10,922	34.3	11,038	34.7	76	0.2	196	0.6	31,821
High Park-Humber Valley	17,389	42.7	17,134	42.0	5,811	14.3			434	1.1	40,768
Parkdale	7,133	28.4	13,134	52.3	4,479	17.8			371	1.5	25,117
Rosedale	14,119	40.3	17,227	49.1	3,285	9.4			431	1.2	35,062
St. Paul's	15,010	42.4	16,124	45.5	3,913	11.1			359	1.0	35,406
Scarborough East	23,585	36.1	30,586	46.8	10,772	16.5	173	0.3	268	0.4	65,384
Scarborough West	11,339	30.2	13,702	36.5	12,298	32.8			150	0.4	37,489
Spadina	3,989	23.0	9,393	54.2	3,536	20.4			414	2.4	17,332
Toronto-Lakeshore	8,475	23.9	14,241	40.1	12,584	35.4			213	0.6	35,513
Trinity	6,537	32.3	10,683	52.8	2,637	13.0			388	1.9	20,245

Table 9-16 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
York Centre	15,877	24.9	32,402	50.7	14,992	23.5	169	0.3	443	0.7	63,883
York East	17,593	36.3	20,682	42.7	9,818	20.2			399	0.8	48,492
York-Scarborough	38,711	39.4	47,450	48.3	11,552	11.8			575	0.6	98,288
York South	5,557	19.2	12,485	43.1	10,622	36.7			302	1.0	28,966
York West	13,734	25.9	28,075	52.9	10,139	19.1			1,094	2.1	53,042
Totals	292,981	34.3	396,292	46.5	155,583	18.2	418	0	7,793	0.9	853,067
Province Totals	1,252,082	35.1	1,609,786	45.1	680,113	19.1	6,575	0.2	16,981	0.5	3,565,537
Rejected											16,230
Total Vote Cast											3,581,767

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (88)

Ind.	= 5,232	26
Comm.	= 4,706	33
None	= 3,689	9
M.-L.	= 3,354	37

Table 9-17 Ontario—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma	7,531	22.2	15,277	45.0	10,989	32.4			121	0.4	33,918
Brampton-Georgetown	31,042	47.6	22,270	34.1	11,584	17.8			365	0.6	65,261
Brant	15,422	31.1	13,154	26.5	20,908	42.2			93	0.2	49,577
Bruce-Grey	21,219	52.4	14,314	35.4	4,723	11.7			223	0.6	40,479
Burlington	32,225	56.8	16,100	28.4	7,999	14.1			427	0.8	56,751
Cambridge	16,337	43.5	9,903	26.4	11,085	29.5	150	0.4	78	0.2	37,553
Cochrane	5,001	17.3	12,889	44.5	11,070	38.2					28,960
Durham-Northumberland	21,502	52.4	10,748	26.2	8,393	20.5			396	1.0	41,039
Elgin	21,181	61.0	9,273	26.7	4,293	12.4					34,747
Erie	15,500	45.8	11,175	33.0	6,985	20.6			180	0.5	33,840
Essex-Kent	13,181	40.7	14,457	44.6	4,759	14.7					32,397
Essex-Windsor	6,875	14.9	20,373	44.3	18,603	40.4			144	0.3	45,995
Glengarry-Prescott-											
Russell	10,112	24.4	27,106	65.3	4,164	10.0			107	0.3	41,489
Grey-Simcoe	20,825	54.7	11,191	29.4	5,576	14.7	165	0.4	285	0.7	38,042
Guelph	18,149	42.0	16,203	37.5	8,535	19.7			364	0.8	43,251
Haldimand-Norfolk	22,655	49.6	15,990	35.0	6,762	14.8	309	0.7			45,716
Halton	28,850	53.3	17,169	31.7	7,838	14.5			297	0.5	54,154
Hamilton East	11,642	30.4	14,579	38.1	11,783	30.8			243	0.6	38,247
Hamilton Mountain	21,348	41.8	17,334	33.9	12,273	24.0			170	0.3	51,125
Hamilton-Wentworth	22,369	52.8	11,343	26.8	8,550	20.2			69	0.2	42,331
Hamilton West	19,661	46.4	13,859	32.7	8,512	20.1			299	0.7	42,331
Hastings-Frontenac	17,537	50.4	11,176	32.1	5,691	16.3			417	1.2	34,821
Huron-Bruce	21,122	59.2	11,818	33.1	2,729	7.7					35,669

Table 9–17 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kenora–Rainy River	10,555	31.5	11,793	35.2	10,844	32.3	253	0.8	99	0.3	33,544
Kent	18,007	51.8	11,713	33.7	5,047	14.5					34,767
Kingston and the Islands	21,277	47.7	14,866	33.3	8,472	19.0					44,615
Kitchener	23,230	44.8	16,900	32.6	11,345	21.9			378	0.7	51,853
Lambton–Middlesex	18,770	48.5	15,335	39.6	4,585	11.9					38,690
Lanark–Renfrew–Carleton	24,277	59.9	10,485	25.9	5,749	14.2					40,511
Leeds–Grenville	24,127	56.8	11,797	27.8	6,551	15.4					42,475
Lincoln	19,612	40.7	15,026	31.2	13,400	27.8			151	0.3	48,189
London East	13,386	34.9	16,331	42.5	8,531	22.2			135	0.4	38,383
London–Middlesex	14,339	38.6	13,714	36.9	8,855	23.8			241	0.6	37,149
London West	24,746	41.5	25,258	42.4	9,378	15.7			231	0.4	59,613
Mississauga North	30,531	44.4	26,881	39.1	11,002	16.0			341	0.5	68,755
Mississauga South	26,802	48.9	18,710	34.1	8,869	16.2			414	0.8	54,795
Nepean–Carleton	36,717	59.6	17,108	27.8	7,810	12.7					61,635
Niagara Falls	16,916	41.9	15,545	38.5	7,757	19.2			135	0.3	40,353
Nickel Belt	7,308	17.8	15,799	38.6	17,772	43.4			103	0.3	40,982
Nipissing	12,987	38.4	15,184	44.9	5,681	16.8					33,852
Northumberland	22,536	59.5	10,200	26.9	5,150	13.6					37,886
Ontario	22,583	45.1	15,730	31.4	11,510	23.0			232	0.5	50,055
Oshawa	18,369	32.4	9,099	16.0	29,090	51.3			189	0.3	56,747
Ottawa–Carleton	26,758	38.8	33,972	49.3	8,234	11.9					68,964
Ottawa Centre	18,728	37.9	19,758	40.0	10,213	20.7			659	1.3	49,358
Ottawa–Vanier	9,265	20.8	28,098	63.1	7,023	15.8			159	0.4	44,545
Ottawa West	24,981	45.2	22,985	41.6	7,051	12.8			193	0.3	55,210
Oxford	23,592	55.2	12,935	30.3	5,980	14.0			227	0.5	42,734
Parry Sound–Muskoka	19,223	52.6	11,070	30.3	6,270	17.1					36,563
Perth	19,019	58.5	9,255	28.5	4,255	13.1					32,529
Peterborough	22,195	44.5	18,288	36.6	8,451	16.9			984	2.0	49,918
Prince Edward–Hastings	21,088	53.3	12,394	31.3	5,833	14.7			261	0.7	39,576
Renfrew–Nipissing– Pembroke	13,781	33.4	20,286	49.2	7,133	17.3					41,200
St. Catherines	23,444	46.3	14,990	29.6	11,897	23.5			337	0.7	50,668
Sarnia	15,990	40.0	13,872	34.7	10,148	25.4					40,010
Sault Ste. Marie	8,668	26.7	11,574	35.7	12,089	37.3			117	0.4	32,448
Simcoe North	19,388	46.4	11,099	26.6	11,284	27.0					41,771
Simcoe South	25,483	54.8	12,687	27.3	8,307	17.9					46,477
Stormont–Dundas	17,575	40.2	20,581	47.1	5,568	12.7					43,724
Sudbury	5,656	13.6	20,634	49.5	14,252	34.2			1,117	2.7	41,659
Thunder Bay–Atitokan	10,392	30.4	11,921	34.9	11,667	34.1			205	0.6	34,185
Thunder Bay–Nipigon	7,749	22.2	15,674	44.9	11,288	32.3			224	0.6	34,935
Timiskaming	6,036	21.2	10,900	38.2	11,595	40.6					28,531
Timmins–Chapleau	7,819	24.8	13,577	43.0	10,160	32.2					31,556
Victoria–Haliburton	26,624	58.3	12,004	26.3	6,872	15.1			149	0.3	45,649
Waterloo	23,837	46.1	18,172	35.1	9,375	18.1			366	0.7	51,750
Wellsand	15,527	36.1	16,025	37.2	11,151	25.9			363	0.8	43,066

Table 9-17 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Wellington-Dufferin-Simcoe	25,807	61.8	11,202	26.8	4,744	11.4					41,753
Windsor-Walkerville	7,265	17.8	17,561	43.0	15,744	38.5			273	0.7	40,843
Windsor West	5,869	16.8	16,943	48.6	11,906	34.1			176	0.5	34,894
York North	29,011	48.9	21,990	37.1	7,591	12.8			746	1.3	59,338
York-Peel	29,081	56.6	14,108	27.5	7,725	15.0			441	0.9	51,355
Totals	1,338,212	42.6	1,119,730	35.7	665,008	21.2	877	0.0	13,924	0.4	3,137,751
Metropolitan Toronto											
Beaches	12,840	34.5	11,232	30.2	12,321	33.1			788	2.1	37,181
Broadview-Greenwood	9,987	30.1	9,290	28.0	13,187	39.7			740	2.2	33,204
Davenport	4,090	17.9	12,760	55.8	5,579	24.4			421	1.8	22,850
Don Valley East	25,352	47.2	21,428	39.9	6,595	12.3			357	0.7	53,732
Don Valley West	28,427	54.1	18,117	34.5	5,572	10.6			439	0.8	52,555
Eglinton-Lawrence	17,605	39.2	19,270	42.9	7,368	16.4			696	1.5	44,939
Etobicoke Centre	31,498	51.3	23,141	37.7	6,237	10.2			476	0.8	61,352
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	15,044	32.9	15,791	34.6	14,265	31.2			590	1.3	45,690
Etobicoke North	18,886	36.5	20,534	39.7	12,017	23.2			337	0.7	51,774
Parkdale-High Park	15,207	37.5	15,281	37.7	9,539	23.5			531	1.3	40,558
Rosedale	18,594	47.3	12,987	33.0	6,902	17.5			865	2.2	39,348
St. Paul's	19,161	44.1	17,949	41.3	5,779	13.3			568	1.3	43,457
Scarborough Centre	18,688	43.4	14,323	33.3	9,533	22.2			486	1.1	43,030
Scarborough East	21,381	46.7	16,002	34.9	8,190	17.9			232	0.5	45,805
Scarborough West	15,697	36.4	13,523	31.4	13,437	31.2			427	1.0	43,084
Spadina	7,213	24.8	12,542	43.2	8,765	30.2			534	1.8	29,054
Trinity	4,843	22.7	10,206	47.9	5,504	25.9			739	3.5	21,292
Willowdale	22,238	44.8	19,848	40.0	7,128	14.3			462	0.9	49,676
York Centre	8,856	21.8	20,859	51.3	10,464	25.7			470	1.2	40,649
York East	20,372	41.9	19,091	39.3	8,651	17.8	125	0.3	363	0.7	48,602
York-Scarborough	36,718	45.2	32,699	40.3	10,978	13.5			819	1.0	81,214
York South-Weston	11,236	30.3	14,913	40.2	10,451	28.2			453	1.2	37,053
York West	10,572	27.0	18,410	47.0	9,712	24.8			451	1.2	39,145
Totals	394,505	41.8	390,196	38.8	208,174	20.7	125	0.0	12,244	1.2	1,005,244
Province Totals	1,732,717	41.8	1,509,926	36.5	873,182	21.1	1,002	0.0	26,168	0.6	4,142,995
Rejected											21,507
Total Vote Cast											4,164,502

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (95)

Libert.	=	13,377	47
M.-L.	=	4,521	62
Ind.	=	3,992	18
Comm.	=	3,266	28
None	=	634	5
Rhino	=	378	3

Table 9–18 Ontario—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma	5,633	16.3	17,432	50.5	11,262	32.7			162	0.5	34,489
Brampton—Georgetown	25,243	40.5	24,876	39.9	11,978	19.2			305	0.5	62,402
Brant	14,614	31.3	12,725	27.3	19,194	41.1	103	0.2	44	0.1	46,680
Bruce—Grey	18,326	47.3	15,735	40.6	4,391	11.3			299	0.8	38,751
Burlington	27,212	50.8	17,574	32.8	8,421	15.7			404	0.8	53,611
Cambridge	14,314	39.4	10,531	29.0	11,346	31.2	103	0.3	82	0.2	36,376
Cochrane	2,852	9.8	15,280	52.6	10,814	37.2			116	0.4	29,062
Durham—Northumberland	17,587	45.1	11,587	29.7	9,453	24.2			390	1.0	39,017
Elgin	16,845	49.8	12,410	36.7	4,508	13.3			57	0.2	33,820
Erie	12,861	40.0	12,334	38.4	6,848	21.3			105	0.3	32,148
Essex—Kent	9,930	31.1	16,898	53.0	5,083	15.9					31,911
Essex—Windsor	4,184	8.7	24,651	51.3	19,123	39.8			103	0.2	48,061
Glengarry—Prescott— Russell	8,113	19.7	28,189	68.5	4,781	11.6			90	0.2	41,173
Grey—Simcoe	16,488	46.1	12,553	35.1	6,236	17.4	93	0.3	404	1.1	35,774
Guelph	16,539	37.6	17,268	39.2	9,765	22.2			473	1.1	44,045
Haldimand—Norfolk	18,600	42.0	18,461	41.7	6,937	15.7	284	0.6			44,282
Halton	24,752	46.8	19,380	36.6	8,455	16.0			330	0.6	52,917
Hamilton East	8,587	23.3	15,430	41.8	12,627	34.2			264	0.7	36,908
Hamilton Mountain	16,208	32.5	15,873	31.8	17,700	35.5			122	0.2	49,903
Hamilton—Wentworth	18,918	45.0	13,704	32.6	9,392	22.3			46	0.1	42,060
Hamilton West	15,500	38.6	14,929	37.1	9,330	23.2			443	1.1	40,202
Hastings—Frontenac	14,211	42.3	13,132	39.1	5,895	17.6			342	1.0	33,580
Huron—Bruce	16,520	47.5	14,364	41.3	3,864	11.1					34,748
Kenora—Rainy River	5,571	16.1	14,688	42.3	14,322	41.3			120	0.3	34,701
Kent	14,293	40.6	15,140	43.0	5,758	16.4					35,191
Kingston and the Islands	18,146	41.8	17,039	39.3	7,830	18.0			373	0.9	43,388
Kitchener	17,990	36.2	19,502	39.3	11,494	23.2			660	1.3	49,646
Lambton—Middlesex	16,274	42.9	17,081	45.0	4,617	12.2					37,972
Lanark—Renfrew—Carleton	20,487	54.6	11,817	31.5	4,948	13.2			247	0.7	37,499
Leeds—Grenville	19,800	51.2	12,260	31.7	6,600	17.1					38,660
Lincoln	16,741	35.0	17,449	36.5	13,500	28.2			133	0.3	47,823
London East	11,031	29.7	17,861	48.0	8,055	21.7			228	0.6	37,175
London—Middlesex	11,897	32.6	15,682	43.0	8,672	23.8			203	0.6	36,454
London West	25,031	40.8	27,118	44.2	8,817	14.4			418	0.7	61,384
Mississauga North	25,739	37.9	30,000	44.2	11,729	17.3			380	0.6	67,848
Mississauga South	21,480	41.4	21,077	40.6	8,711	16.8			624	1.2	51,892
Nepean—Carleton	31,498	53.5	19,482	33.1	7,187	12.2			658	1.1	58,825
Niagara Falls	14,251	36.9	15,871	41.1	8,167	21.2	221	0.6	61	0.2	38,571
Nickel Belt	4,250	10.2	19,805	47.5	17,529	42.1			89	0.2	41,673
Nipissing	11,661	35.8	16,394	50.3	4,515	13.9					32,570
Northumberland	17,860	48.4	13,925	37.7	5,108	13.8					36,893
Ontario	19,963	40.9	15,494	31.7	12,812	26.2			566	1.2	48,835
Oshawa	14,645	28.3	10,129	19.5	26,761	51.6			288	0.6	51,823
Ottawa—Carleton	22,384	34.2	34,960	53.5	7,788	11.9			235	0.4	65,367
Ottawa Centre	17,181	36.4	21,659	45.9	7,529	16.0			818	1.7	47,187

Table 9-18 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Ottawa-Vanier	7,379	17.8	27,564	66.5	5,721	13.8			785	1.9	41,449
Ottawa West	21,940	43.2	22,460	44.3	5,955	11.7			398	0.8	50,753
Oxford	19,382	45.9	15,546	36.8	6,885	16.3			411	1.0	42,224
Parry Sound-Muskoka	14,333	42.1	12,149	35.6	7,603	22.3					34,085
Perth	15,172	47.5	12,077	37.8	4,635	14.5			56	0.2	31,940
Peterborough	19,417	40.2	17,202	35.7	10,776	22.3			848	1.8	48,243
Prince Edward-Hastings	16,893	45.9	12,821	34.8	6,889	18.7			211	0.6	36,814
Renfrew-Nipissing-											
Pembroke	12,966	32.7	20,529	51.7	6,200	15.6					39,695
St. Catharines	18,622	37.9	17,173	34.9	13,006	26.5			341	0.7	49,142
Sarnia	13,986	34.9	16,275	40.6	9,809	24.4			52	0.1	40,122
Sault Ste. Marie	4,161	12.9	15,449	48.0	12,542	38.9			59	0.2	32,211
Simcoe North	14,874	36.4	14,808	36.3	11,139	27.3					40,821
Simcoe South	19,768	43.5	16,174	35.6	9,474	20.9					45,416
Stormont-Dundas	15,089	36.0	22,251	53.0	4,629	11.0					41,969
Sudbury	4,661	11.8	21,954	55.7	12,280	31.2			522	1.3	39,417
Thunder Bay-Atitokan	7,225	21.4	13,234	39.2	13,150	39.0			122	0.4	33,731
Thunder Bay-Nipigon	5,865	16.5	16,592	46.6	12,950	36.4			177	0.5	35,584
Timiskaming	4,901	18.3	11,135	41.6	10,661	39.8			93	0.3	26,790
Timmins-Chapleau	3,663	12.2	15,628	51.9	10,745	35.7			57	0.2	30,093
Victoria-Haliburton	20,308	48.4	12,388	29.5	8,884	21.2			367	0.9	41,947
Waterloo	20,609	40.0	20,455	39.7	9,819	19.1			646	1.3	51,529
Welland	11,292	27.3	18,112	43.8	11,729	28.4			173	0.4	41,306
Wellington-Dufferin-											
Simcoe	21,205	53.8	12,104	30.7	5,966	15.1			162	0.4	39,437
Windsor-Walkerville	4,581	11.4	20,869	52.0	14,460	36.0			209	0.5	40,119
Windsor West	4,107	12.2	19,755	58.5	9,785	29.0			121	0.4	33,768
York North	26,039	43.5	24,281	40.6	8,933	14.9			593	1.0	59,846
York-Peel	23,955	47.1	17,303	34.0	8,708	17.1			906	1.8	50,872
Totals	1,094,603	36.0	1,246,037	41.0	683,185	22.5	804	0	17,991	0.6	3,042,620
Metropolitan Toronto											
Beaches	11,179	31.4	11,119	31.3	12,675	35.6			591	1.7	35,564
Broadview-Greenwood	7,677	23.9	10,601	33.0	12,953	40.4			858	2.7	32,089
Davenport	3,167	13.6	14,545	62.4	5,170	22.2			419	1.8	23,301
Don Valley East	21,119	42.9	21,944	44.6	5,713	11.6			424	0.9	49,200
Don Valley West	25,260	51.8	18,430	37.8	4,702	9.6			407	0.8	48,799
Eglinton-Lawrence	13,985	33.8	20,861	50.5	6,077	14.7			414	1.0	41,337
Etobicoke Centre	26,969	47.1	23,715	41.4	6,181	10.8			396	0.7	57,261
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	13,209	30.1	17,903	40.8	12,405	28.3			335	0.8	43,852
Etobicoke North	15,954	31.9	23,243	46.4	10,237	20.4			648	1.3	50,082
Parkdale-High Park	12,116	32.1	17,213	45.6	8,094	21.4			361	1.0	37,784
Rosedale	16,862	44.0	14,993	39.1	5,698	14.9			807	2.1	38,360
St. Paul's	15,643	39.5	17,905	45.3	5,301	13.4			716	1.8	39,565
Scarborough Centre	14,995	36.4	16,595	40.3	9,237	22.4			335	0.8	41,162
Scarborough East	17,658	40.5	17,147	39.3	8,533	19.6			241	0.6	43,579

Table 9–18 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Scarborough West	12,744	31.3	14,316	35.1	13,146	32.2			559	1.4	40,765
Spadina	5,929	20.9	13,280	46.8	8,232	29.0			944	3.3	28,385
Trinity	3,695	16.8	12,628	57.5	5,005	22.8			628	2.9	21,956
Willowdale	17,527	37.4	22,235	47.4	6,889	14.7			216	0.5	46,867
York Centre	6,736	17.8	23,116	61.0	7,696	20.3			370	1.0	37,918
York East	16,672	36.3	20,580	44.8	7,997	17.4			638	1.4	45,887
York Scarborough	30,925	37.8	39,208	47.9	10,939	13.4			767	0.9	81,839
York South	8,711	24.9	16,520	47.2	9,280	26.5			480	1.4	34,991
York West	7,101	18.8	21,385	56.8	8,884	23.6			308	0.8	37,678
Totals	325,833	41.8	429,482	44.8	191,044	19.9			11,862	1.2	958,221
Province Totals	1,420,436	35.5	1,675,519	41.9	874,229	21.9	804	0	29,853	0.7	4,000,841
Rejected											17,260
Total Vote Cast											4,018,101

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (95)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (95)
Libert. = 12,847	47	Comm. = 2,210	22
Rhino = 6,666	18	None = 1,862	13
M.-L. = 4,477	70	Ind. = 1,791	13

Table 9–19 Ontario—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma	12,811	34.7	14,113	38.3	9,499	25.7			462	1.3	36,885
Brampton—Georgetown	47,743	56.1	23,325	27.4	13,356	15.7			611	0.7	85,035
Brant	21,679	41.5	7,286	13.9	23,103	44.2	207	0.4			52,275
Bruce—Grey	27,611	64.7	9,931	23.3	5,112	12.0					42,654
Burlington	37,577	61.9	11,406	18.8	11,687	19.3					60,670
Cambridge	22,963	60.2	5,545	14.5	9,171	24.0			455	1.2	38,134
Cochrane—Superior	9,590	32.4	12,359	41.7	7,672	25.9					29,621
Durham—Northumberland	24,968	59.3	8,740	20.8	7,805	18.5			564	1.3	42,077
Elgin	23,302	67.1	6,797	19.6	4,646	13.4					34,745
Erie	19,197	55.8	9,316	27.1	5,868	17.1					34,381
Essex—Kent	18,661	58.0	9,268	28.8	4,234	13.2					32,163
Essex—Windsor	15,073	31.6	13,866	29.1	18,746	39.3					47,685
Glengarry—Prescott— Russell	16,170	33.0	26,057	53.1	6,838	13.9					49,065
Grey—Simcoe	23,342	59.8	9,369	24.0	6,001	15.4			337	0.9	39,049
Guelph	23,484	49.9	13,757	29.2	9,153	19.5			657	1.4	47,051
Haldimand—Norfolk	27,296	59.0	12,161	26.3	6,138	13.3			656	1.4	46,251
Halton	38,076	60.6	14,125	22.5	9,164	14.6			1,494	2.4	62,859
Hamilton East	11,711	30.5	14,533	37.9	11,872	30.9	102	0.3	146	0.4	38,364
Hamilton Mountain	17,004	32.4	9,514	18.1	25,789	49.2			133	0.3	52,440
Hamilton—Wentworth	25,595	52.0	14,193	28.8	8,836	18.0			593	1.2	49,217
Hamilton West	16,573	40.4	12,379	30.2	11,508	28.0			592	1.4	41,052

Table 9-19 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Hastings-Frontenac-											
Lennox and Addington	19,996	56.3	9,757	27.5	5,349	15.0			441	1.2	35,543
Huron-Bruce	23,969	64.8	8,802	23.8	4,075	11.0			158	0.4	37,004
Kenora-Rainy River	12,699	35.3	9,928	27.6	13,319	37.1					35,946
Kent	18,279	48.8	13,027	34.8	6,138	16.4					37,444
Kingston and the Islands	25,997	55.1	13,087	27.7	5,950	12.6			2,146	4.5	47,180
Kitchener	26,710	46.8	16,130	28.3	13,873	24.3			306	0.5	57,019
Lambton-Middlesex	22,501	54.6	13,888	33.7	4,826	11.7					41,215
Lanark-Renfrew-Carleton	24,395	53.8	15,528	34.2	5,310	11.7			139	0.3	45,372
Leeds-Grenville	26,961	61.5	10,222	23.3	6,121	14.0			538	1.2	43,842
Lincoln	26,318	48.6	14,646	27.1	11,888	22.0	120	0.2	637	1.2	54,126
London East	18,154	47.2	9,948	25.9	10,324	26.9					38,426
London-Middlesex	18,586	47.0	11,202	28.3	9,753	24.7					39,541
London West	34,517	51.4	21,701	32.3	10,911	16.3					67,129
Mississauga North	47,124	49.5	33,203	34.9	13,823	14.5			1,044	1.1	95,194
Mississauga South	32,946	56.4	16,874	28.9	8,584	14.7					58,404
Nepean-Carleton	41,663	55.9	20,852	28.0	11,035	14.8			941	1.3	74,491
Niagara Falls	22,852	55.1	8,219	19.8	9,863	23.8	177	0.4	352	0.8	41,463
Nickel Belt	13,857	31.2	13,124	29.6	17,141	38.6			288	0.6	44,410
Nipissing	17,247	47.2	14,558	39.8	4,735	13.0					36,540
Northumberland	24,060	62.3	9,534	24.7	4,633	12.0			400	1.0	38,627
Ontario	35,163	56.1	14,519	23.2	12,995	20.7					62,677
Oshawa	23,028	38.8	10,719	18.1	25,092	42.3			481	0.8	59,320
Ottawa-Carleton	34,693	44.7	30,747	39.7	10,760	13.9			1,339	1.7	77,539
Ottawa Centre	17,790	34.3	15,380	29.6	17,844	34.4			905	1.7	51,919
Ottawa-Vanier	12,571	28.8	21,401	49.1	9,364	21.5			265	0.6	43,601
Ottawa West	26,591	48.8	19,314	35.4	8,304	15.2			285	0.5	54,494
Oxford	25,642	57.1	12,884	28.7	6,077	13.5			322	0.7	44,925
Parry Sound-Muskoka	22,739	57.2	9,555	24.1	7,113	17.9			316	0.8	39,723
Perth	19,186	54.9	10,155	29.1	5,599	16.0					34,940
Peterborough	27,121	52.7	11,737	22.8	10,648	20.7			1,963	3.8	51,469
Prince Edward-Hastings	21,034	54.3	10,321	26.7	7,162	18.5			197	0.5	38,714
Renfrew-Nipissing-											
Pembroke	19,464	45.0	19,502	45.1	4,253	9.8					43,219
St. Catharines	26,621	49.7	9,890	18.5	16,397	30.6	108	0.2	514	1.0	53,530
Sarnia-Lambton	24,066	54.6	11,313	25.7	8,538	19.4			141	0.3	44,058
Sault Ste. Marie	13,135	38.6	9,972	29.3	10,726	31.5			198	0.6	34,031
Simcoe North	24,887	55.0	12,062	26.6	7,742	17.1			591	1.3	45,282
Simcoe South	30,702	58.0	13,906	26.3	8,283	15.7					52,891
Stormont-Dundas	21,043	46.0	18,821	41.2	5,869	12.8					45,733
Sudbury	14,100	32.3	18,012	41.3	11,185	25.6			316	0.7	43,613
Thunder Bay-Atitokan	12,040	34.0	8,704	24.5	14,715	41.5					35,459
Thunder Bay-Nipigon	10,601	28.3	12,736	34.0	13,901	37.2			180	0.5	37,418
Timiskaming	15,359	53.9	6,308	22.1	6,685	23.5	151	0.5			28,503
Timmins-Chapleau	11,944	37.5	10,273	32.2	9,543	29.9			127	0.4	31,887
Victoria-Haliburton	30,229	60.9	10,032	20.2	8,682	17.5			663	1.3	49,606
Waterloo	31,898	56.3	13,911	24.6	10,275	18.2			525	0.9	56,609
Welland	18,418	42.0	14,481	33.0	10,508	24.0			429	1.0	43,836

Table 9-19 (Continued)

	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		
Riding	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Total
Wellington–Dufferin–											
Simcoe	29,983	68.5	7,303	16.7	6,468	14.8					43,754
Windsor–Walkerville	13,546	34.1	11,574	29.1	14,604	36.8					39,724
Windsor West	8,158	24.3	13,624	40.5	11,503	34.2			316	0.9	33,601
York North ¹	27,955	31.7	18,034	20.4	10,077	11.4			32,200	36.5	88,266
York–Peel	37,493	62.2	12,538	20.8	9,353	15.5			917	1.5	60,301
Totals	1,666,457	49.5	961,998	28.6	714,114	21.2	865	0	57,280	1.7	3,400,714
Metropolitan Toronto											
Beaches	12,443	33.9	8,155	22.2	14,914	40.6			1,205	3.3	36,717
Broadview–Greenwood	11,455	34.7	6,060	18.3	15,066	45.6			463	1.4	33,044
Davenport	5,217	21.1	13,248	53.7	5,548	22.5			673	2.7	24,686
Don Valley East	29,706	54.4	18,578	34.0	5,842	10.7			518	0.9	54,644
Don Valley West	29,905	59.9	12,855	25.8	6,570	13.2			577	1.2	49,907
Eglinton–Lawrence	17,476	40.3	18,645	43.0	6,458	14.9			800	1.8	43,379
Etobicoke Centre	34,026	56.8	17,853	29.8	7,657	12.8			339	0.6	59,875
Etobicoke–Lakeshore	19,902	44.8	13,455	30.3	10,549	23.7			533	1.2	44,439
Etobicoke North	22,713	40.5	21,840	38.9	11,136	19.8			417	0.7	56,106
Parkdale–High Park	15,879	40.2	14,419	36.5	8,232	20.9			945	2.4	39,475
Rosedale	23,211	52.8	11,488	26.1	7,836	17.8			1,428	3.2	43,963
St. Paul's	20,914	47.6	16,659	37.9	5,545	12.6			859	2.0	43,977
Scarborough Centre	19,968	46.7	14,229	33.3	8,240	19.3			345	0.8	42,782
Scarborough East	26,349	55.6	13,325	28.1	6,422	13.6			1,294	2.7	47,390
Scarborough West	17,028	40.9	12,230	29.4	11,436	27.5			922	2.2	41,616
Spadina	8,061	23.8	11,880	35.0	13,241	39.0			745	2.2	33,927
Trinity	5,120	22.7	9,811	43.6	6,712	29.8			864	3.8	22,507
Willowdale	22,425	43.5	22,063	42.8	6,711	13.0			329	0.6	51,528
York Centre	11,138	27.4	20,810	51.2	8,037	19.8			673	1.7	40,658
York East	21,978	47.3	16,519	35.5	7,581	16.3			414	0.9	46,492
York–Scarborough	48,809	48.6	35,869	35.7	13,260	13.2			2,437	2.4	100,375
York South–Weston	10,789	28.6	14,217	37.7	11,679	31.0			981	2.6	37,666
York West	12,218	30.9	17,629	44.6	8,718	22.0			999	2.5	39,564
Totals	446,730	43.2	361,837	35.0	207,390	20.0			18,760	1.8	1,034,717
Province Totals	2,113,187	47.6	1,323,835	29.8	921,504	20.8	865	0	76,040	1.7	4,435,431
Rejected											26,005
Total Vote Cast											4,461,436 ³

Vote Cast for "Other":			Vote Cast for "Other":		
None	=	Ridings (95)	Rhino	=	Ridings (95)
None	=	35,325	7		
Libert.	=	14,646	39		
G.P.	=	12,066	27		
Ind.	=	5,904 ²	18		

¹Won by a candidate with no party designation and seated in Commons as an Independent.

²Table 5 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* shows a total for Independents which is 112 less and an equal amount more for "None." It seems likely that Part IV of the *Report* mistakenly describes one of the candidates as of the other variety.

³Table 5 of the *Report* shows 1,539 votes. Hence, our total vote cast is 20 more than shown in Table 5 of the *Report*.

Table 9-20 Ontario—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Algoma	7,383	23.4	16,766	53.2	7,341	23.3					31,490
Brampton	29,473	51.6	14,047	24.6	10,284	18.0			3,291	5.8	57,095
Brampton—Malton	16,427	41.5	13,612	34.4	8,887	22.5			620	1.6	39,546
Brant	14,084	29.7	11,461	24.2	19,633	41.5			2,173	4.6	47,351
Bruce—Grey	19,748	40.9	18,796	38.9	9,183	19.0			584	1.2	48,311
Burlington	26,293	52.1	13,448	26.6	8,149	16.1			2,606	5.2	50,496
Cambridge	20,578	40.4	13,639	26.8	14,298	28.1			2,446	4.8	50,961
Carleton—Gloucester	23,964	37.3	30,925	48.1	6,217	9.7			3,163	4.9	64,269
Cochrane—Superior	7,032	23.6	11,954	40.1	10,853	36.4					29,839
Durham	24,065	46.5	15,083	29.1	10,334	20.0			2,305	4.5	51,787
Elgin	15,694	38.6	13,953	34.3	8,447	20.8			2,529	6.2	40,623
Erie	15,063	38.5	14,278	36.5	8,168	20.9			1,607	4.1	39,116
Essex—Kent	12,181	32.3	18,634	49.4	6,935	18.4					37,750
Essex—Windsor	6,154	14.3	17,715	41.3	18,926	44.1			98	0.2	42,893
Glengarry—Prescott—Russell	9,517	19.1	35,280	70.7	4,537	9.1			534	1.1	49,868
Guelph—Wellington	25,721	43.2	19,002	31.9	11,623	19.5			3,177	5.3	59,523
Haldimand—Norfolk	16,712	37.6	16,921	38.0	6,736	15.1			4,131	9.3	44,500
Halton—Peel	28,521	54.6	16,486	31.6	6,767	13.0			449	0.9	52,223
Hamilton East	8,015	21.4	18,633	49.8	10,495	28.0			273	0.7	37,416
Hamilton Mountain	15,712	30.5	16,949	32.9	16,875	32.8			1,956	3.8	51,492
Hamilton—Wentworth	23,876	41.9	19,373	34.0	8,989	15.8			4,775	8.4	57,013
Hamilton West	14,851	33.9	16,598	37.8	11,194	25.5			1,217	2.8	43,860
Hastings—Frontenac— Lennox and Addington	17,247	40.0	16,380	38.0	7,455	17.3			2,076	4.8	43,158
Huron—Bruce	20,042	42.6	16,629	35.3	7,746	16.5			2,633	5.6	47,050
Kenora—Rainy River	7,496	21.6	13,313	38.3	12,102	34.8			1,871	5.4	34,782
Kent	13,835	35.0	15,835	40.0	7,948	20.1			1,942	4.9	39,560
Kingston and the Islands	20,409	35.9	23,121	40.6	11,442	20.1			1,947	3.4	56,919
Kitchener	22,400	41.8	19,344	36.1	11,571	21.6			325	0.6	53,640
Lambton—Middlesex	16,857	40.4	17,312	41.5	5,063	12.1			2,467	5.9	41,699
Lanark—Carleton	27,379	48.0	20,280	35.6	8,359	14.7			981	1.7	56,999
Leeds—Grenville	18,053	38.9	20,141	43.4	5,141	11.1			3,081	6.6	46,416
Lincoln	19,955	38.6	19,517	37.7	9,037	17.5			3,193	6.2	51,702
London East	19,445	37.5	19,547	37.7	12,667	24.4			201	0.4	51,860
London—Middlesex	18,532	38.3	18,528	38.3	11,100	23.0			194	0.4	48,354
London West	28,392	45.7	23,321	37.5	10,007	16.1			435	0.7	62,155
Markham	36,673	53.1	21,973	31.8	6,209	9.0			4,211	6.1	69,066
Mississauga East	20,963	41.5	23,055	45.6	5,677	11.2			869	1.7	50,564
Mississauga South	24,482	51.9	16,362	34.7	5,643	12.0			688	1.5	47,175
Mississauga West	32,992	48.2	28,444	41.5	6,621	9.7			459	0.7	68,516
Nepean	23,399	41.5	26,632	47.2	6,119	10.8			292	0.5	56,442
Niagara Falls	17,076	39.5	15,137	35.0	9,232	21.3			1,812	4.2	43,257
Nickel Belt	8,080	20.8	9,133	23.5	17,417	44.8			4,268	11.0	38,898
Nipissing	15,003	39.8	15,488	41.1	6,479	17.2			709	1.9	37,679
Northumberland	18,588	41.0	18,617	41.1	6,503	14.4			1,580	3.5	45,288
Oakville—Milton	35,033	54.0	22,793	35.1	5,614	8.7			1,433	2.2	64,873

Table 9-20 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Ontario	34,969	48.9	23,091	32.3	12,751	17.8			632	0.9	71,443
Oshawa	14,040	33.8	8,496	20.5	18,410	44.3			588	1.4	41,534
Ottawa Centre	13,142	26.5	18,096	36.5	17,334	34.9			1,066	2.1	49,638
Ottawa South	19,134	35.1	27,740	50.8	7,392	13.5			310	0.6	54,576
Ottawa-Vanier	11,192	23.2	28,581	59.2	7,716	16.0			776	1.6	48,265
Ottawa West	18,299	38.6	23,470	49.5	5,320	11.2			287	0.6	47,376
Oxford	19,366	39.8	18,035	37.0	7,771	16.0			3,543	7.3	48,715
Parry Sound-Muskoka	17,195	43.3	12,343	31.0	10,215	25.7					39,753
Perth-Wellington-Waterloo	17,974	39.1	17,013	37.0	8,727	19.0			2,258	4.9	45,972
Peterborough	22,492	40.9	16,693	30.3	15,147	27.5			724	1.3	55,056
Prince Edward-Hastings	16,408	36.2	19,559	43.1	6,564	14.5			2,814	6.2	45,345
Renfrew	15,081	32.1	25,558	54.3	5,879	12.5			520	1.1	47,038
St. Catharines	19,623	40.7	16,043	33.3	12,260	25.5			241	0.5	48,167
Sarnia-Lambton	19,304	45.0	13,624	31.8	9,525	22.2			408	1.0	42,861
Sault Ste. Marie	13,553	32.7	13,237	32.0	14,595	35.3					41,385
Simcoe Centre	23,504	45.4	17,233	33.3	8,380	16.2			2,685	5.2	51,802
Simcoe North	21,847	44.0	18,755	37.8	8,995	18.1					49,597
Stormont-Dundas	12,572	29.3	19,698	46.0	5,448	12.7			5,135	12.0	42,853
Sudbury	9,356	22.0	17,879	42.0	11,811	27.8			3,492	8.2	42,538
Thunder Bay-Atitokan	11,454	31.3	11,968	32.7	13,132	35.9			75	0.2	36,629
Thunder Bay-Nipigon	9,782	25.6	15,346	40.2	13,019	34.1					38,147
Timiskaming	11,230	36.6	10,284	33.5	7,831	25.5			1,367	4.5	30,712
Timmins-Chapleau	9,782	30.8	10,347	32.6	11,622	36.6					31,751
Victoria-Haliburton	22,270	46.8	16,549	34.8	8,203	17.2	168	0.4	378	0.8	47,568
Waterloo	26,949	45.1	21,715	36.3	10,418	17.4			663	1.1	59,745
Welland-St. Catharines-Thorold	16,287	34.5	17,878	37.9	12,646	26.8			401	0.8	47,212
Wellington-Grey-Dufferin-Simcoe	26,066	50.9	15,494	30.2	7,746	15.1			1,918	3.7	51,224
Windsor-Lake St. Clair	8,453	19.4	16,192	37.2	18,915	43.4					43,560
Windsor West	6,078	14.3	23,842	56.2	12,241	28.9			237	0.6	42,398
York North	37,436	42.6	37,513	42.7	11,583	13.2			1,292	1.5	87,825
York-Simcoe	26,731	47.2	19,906	35.1	7,489	13.2			2,538	4.5	56,664
Totals	1,414,964	38.5	1,396,633	38.0	749,108	20.4	168	0.0	109,950	3.0	3,670,823
Metropolitan Toronto											
Beaches-Woodbine	13,107	29.2	14,900	33.2	15,760	35.2			1,046	2.3	44,813
Broadview-Greenwood	9,112	22.4	15,808	38.9	14,616	36.0			1,107	2.7	40,643
Davenport	5,179	18.6	16,436	58.9	5,256	18.8			1,042	3.7	27,913
Don Valley East	18,719	44.7	15,881	37.9	6,310	15.1			964	2.3	41,874
Don Valley North	17,551	43.4	16,947	41.9	4,777	11.8			1,137	2.8	40,412
Don Valley West	27,683	53.3	19,097	36.8	4,307	8.3			809	1.6	51,896
Eglinton-Lawrence	12,400	30.9	20,446	51.0	6,241	15.6			991	2.5	40,078
Etobicoke Centre	24,338	48.4	20,342	40.5	4,815	9.6			773	1.5	50,268
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	21,305	47.1			19,609	43.4			4,303	9.5	45,217
Etobicoke North	17,261	34.6	22,618	45.3	8,645	17.3			1,365	2.7	49,889
Parkdale-High Park	16,418	36.4	19,614	43.5	8,002	17.7			1,102	2.4	45,136

Table 9-20 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Rosedale	22,704	41.4	22,624	41.2	8,266	15.1			1,293	2.4	54,887
St. Paul's	25,206	47.5	21,655	40.8	5,303	10.0			865	1.6	53,029
Scarborough-Agincourt	18,601	42.4	19,453	44.3	5,082	11.6			770	1.8	43,906
Scarborough Centre	17,247	40.6	16,846	39.7	8,004	18.9			343	0.8	42,440
Scarborough East	18,149	43.3	16,337	39.0	6,866	16.4			577	1.4	41,929
Scarborough-Rouge River	18,182	37.6	22,766	47.1	6,592	13.6			801	1.7	48,341
Scarborough West	14,923	35.7	15,363	36.8	11,000	26.4			459	1.1	41,745
Trinity-Spadina	8,618	21.3	15,082	37.4	15,565	38.5			1,114	2.8	40,379
Willowdale	22,347	43.4	24,230	47.0	4,517	8.8			416	0.8	51,510
York Centre	9,248	22.4	24,962	60.5	6,297	15.3			736	1.8	41,243
York South-Weston	8,488	21.6	21,111	53.7	9,095	23.1			610	1.6	39,304
York West	6,368	19.1	19,936	59.6	6,088	18.2			1,032	3.1	33,424
Totals	373,154	36.9	422,454	41.8	191,013	18.9			23,655	2.3	1,010,276
Province Totals	1,788,118	38.2	1,819,087	38.9	940,121	20.1	168	0.0	133,607	2.9	4,681,099
Rejected											26,244
Total Vote Cast											4,707,343

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (99)	Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (99)		
CHP	=	64,720	31	GP	=	4,973	15
CRWP	=	18,628	12	Ind.	=	4,083	15
Libert.	=	23,467	54	Comm.	=	2,827	21
None	=	7,015	21	Com'lth.	=	2,350	21
Rhino	=	5,544	17				

Table 9–21 Ontario Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1937–1987

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
October 6, 1937	23	25.6	619,610	39.4	63	70.0	773,608	49.2			87,490	5.1
August 4, 1943	38	42.2	469,672	35.7	15	16.7	397,014	30.2	34	37.8	415,441	31.1
June 8, 1945	66	73.3	781,345	44.2	11	12.2	475,029	26.9	8	8.9	395,708	22.2
June 7, 1948	53	58.9	725,799	41.3	13	14.4	515,795	29.3	21	23.3	466,274	26.1
November 22, 1951	79	87.8	860,898	48.5	7	7.8	551,794	31.1	2	2.2	339,376	19.1
June 9, 1955	84	85.7	853,625	48.5	10	10.2	577,774	32.8	3	3.1	291,410	16.1
June 11, 1959	71	72.4	868,815	46.2	21	21.4	682,590	36.3	5	5.1	313,834	16.1
September 25, 1963	77	71.3	1,052,740	48.6	23	21.3	757,950	35.0	7	6.5	336,290	15.1
October 17, 1967	69	59.0	1,022,967	42.3	27	23.1	760,096	31.4	20	17.1	626,429	25.1
October 21, 1971	78	66.7	1,465,313	44.5	20	17.1	913,742	27.8	19	16.2	893,879	27.1
September 18, 1975	51	40.8	1,192,592	36.1	36	28.8	1,134,681	34.3	38	30.4	956,904	28.1
June 9, 1977	58	46.4	1,325,359	39.7	34	27.2	1,053,119	31.5	33	26.4	935,912	28.1
March 19, 1981	70	56.0	1,412,488	44.4	34	27.2	1,072,680	33.7	21	16.8	672,824	21.1
May 2, 1985	52	41.6	1,343,044	36.9	48	38.4	1,377,965	37.9	25	20.0	865,507	23.1
September 2, 1987	16	12.3	931,473	24.7	95	73.1	1,788,214	47.3	19	14.6	970,813	25.1
Totals and Means	885	54.7		41.4	457	28.2		34.3	255	15.8		22.1

¹CCF through 1959.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		538	0.0	4	4.4	89,887	5.7	90	1,571,133
				3	3.3	31,812	2.4	90	1,313,939
		247	0.0	5	5.6	113,464	6.4	90	1,765,793
		1,104	0.1	3	3.3	49,065	2.8	90	1,758,037
				2	2.2	24,548	1.4	90	1,776,616
		602	0	1	1.0	38,114	2.2	98	1,761,525
		1,740	0.1	1	1.0	15,594	0.8	98	1,882,573
		2,313	0.1	1	0.9	16,480	0.8	108	2,165,773
		1,906	0.1	1	0.9	8,312	0.3	117	2,419,710
		1,204	0			18,579	0.6	117	3,292,717
		3,481	0.1			18,739	0.6	125	3,306,397
						27,443	0.8	125	3,341,833
						24,492	0.8	125	3,182,484
						49,183	1.4	125	3,635,699
						86,811	2.3	130	3,777,311
		0		21	1.3		1.9	1,618	

A notable aspect of Manitoba's electoral system is that it has developed a truly multiparty system at both the federal and provincial levels. This is so much the case that only once, in the 1958 federal election, did any party achieve a simple majority of the popular vote, and that in the midst of a national Tory landslide. In that instance the Progressive Conservatives won nearly 57 percent of the vote and captured all 14 of the province's seats in Commons. Although they did not do as well in the provincial elections three months earlier, for the most part there is often a close parallel between provincial and federal voting patterns.

Until the 1988 election Manitoba was the classic example of how the Liberal Party has declined in the Prairie Provinces. From its high point of 15 of the 17 seats and almost 48 percent of the vote in 1940, it has slipped to a third-place standing behind the NDP in recent years. One of the few pleasant surprises for the Liberals in 1988 was its gain in both popular votes as well as seats in the province. At that, it provides a greater vote for the Liberals than does Alberta or, quite recently, Saskatchewan.¹ In its stead, the Tories have come to be relatively dominant, while the NDP has shown that it is capable of strong support, capturing half of Manitoba's seats in Commons in 1980, but losing 3 of these in the Mulroney/PC landslide in 1984, losing 2 more in 1988.

For all the fact that Social Credit got its start in a sister prairie province, it never gained much of a foothold in Manitoba, peaking in 1957 with 13 percent of the federal vote, and never winning a seat in Commons. Its performance in provincial elections was not much better, win-

ning a total of 15 seats in 15 elections, and not contesting any since it last appeared in 1969. Why is this so? One can only speculate, but it is possible that the support of lower economic-status ethnics which the Socreds initially received in 1936 was permanently alienated as a result of political maneuvering by the movement's leaders early on.² And given the high ethnic mix of Manitoba, especially from Eastern Europe, the socialist policies of the CCF and its successor, the NDP, were more congenial to an electorate with a strong tradition of unionism and working-class consciousness.³

Especially in recent elections, when the Tories have gained seats they have done so at the expense of the NDP, and the converse holds equally true. As a party of the middle, the Liberals have generally been unable to capitalize on the misfortunes of either of the other two parties. This is not for want of trying, however, as the Liberals have contested every seat in this period, as have the Tories. Starting with the 1957 election, the NDP has contested all but one seat (in 1963), reflecting their own coming-of-age in an organizational sense. Candidates from other parties have been present in all elections, but have been unable to win any seats.

With this tradition of three parties actively competing for the vote, we find that Manitoba has a tradition of relatively closely contested elections, as roughly a third have been decided by 10 percent or less. Of special interest in this regard, however, is the jump in the proportion of elections which are decided by margins of 25 percent or more. All but six of these (two Winnipeg ridings in 1979 and 1980 which voted for the NDP; one for the NDP and one for the Liberals

in 1988), have been won by the Progressive Conservatives. This can certainly be taken as evidence of an increasingly strong Tory organization, capable of bringing a great many loyalists to the polls. On the other hand, given the weak position of the Liberals, it also suggests that an increasing division is taking place between the Tories on one end of the spectrum and the NDP on the other.

In provincial elections we see a picture which is quite like that which we get at the federal level.⁴ Initially fairly strong, and the largest party in the legislature until the 1953 elections, the Liberals have been in absolute decline since. Oddly, despite the fragmentation of Manitoba's electorate, majority government has been the rule rather than the exception. The Tories have been able to gain a majority four times, and

the Liberals and NDP have done so three times each. Yet in none of these 10 elections, or in the other 5, was a majority of the popular vote ever received by any of the parties. This is again clear evidence of a maldistribution problem in which the ruling party profits from the distortions of a single-member district/multiple-party system. What is even more remarkable is the extent to which there has been a certain continuity in terms of governing or majority party. The Liberals were able to form the government after the 1941 election and stayed in power until 1958. The Tories captured a majority in 1959 and stayed in power until 1969. The NDP won its first majority in 1973, lost it in 1977, won a majority again in 1981 and 1986, and fell to third place in the 1988 elections. Hence, for the most part there has been a certain stability in the pro-

Table 10-1 Manitoba—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935-1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	1	5.9	75,574	26.9	14	82.4	113,887	40.5	2	11.8	54,491	19.8
1940	1	5.9	82,240	26.0	15	88.2	151,480	47.8	1	5.9	61,448	19.9
1945	2	11.8	80,303	24.9	10	58.8	111,863	34.7	5	29.4	101,892	31.4
1949	1	6.3	70,689	22.0	12	75.0	153,857	47.9	3	18.8	83,176	25.3
1953	3	21.4	73,644	27.0	8	57.1	109,775	40.2	3	21.4	64,402	23.5
1957	8	57.1	124,867	35.9	1	7.1	90,880	26.1	5	35.7	82,398	23.5
1958	14	100.0	216,948	56.7			82,450	21.6			74,906	19.8
1962	11	78.6	161,824	41.6	1	7.1	121,041	31.1	2	14.3	76,514	19.8
1963	10	71.4	169,013	42.3	2	14.3	134,905	33.8	2	14.3	66,652	16.8
1965	10	71.4	154,253	40.7	1	7.1	117,442	31.0	3	21.4	91,193	24.4
1968	5	38.5	125,713	31.4	5	38.5	166,025	41.5	3	23.1	99,974	25.3
1972	8	61.5	184,363	41.6	2	15.4	136,906	30.9	3	23.1	116,474	26.4
1974	9	69.2	212,990	47.7	2	15.4	122,470	27.4	2	15.4	104,829	23.5
1979	7	50.0	222,787	43.4	2	14.3	120,493	23.5	5	35.7	167,850	32.4
1980	5	35.7	179,607	37.7	2	14.3	133,253	28.0	7	50.0	159,434	33.5
1984	9	64.3	221,947	43.2	1	7.1	112,123	21.8	4	28.6	139,999	27.4
1988	7	50.0	199,161	36.9	5	35.7	196,887	36.5	2	14.3	115,293	21.8
Totals and Means	111	45.1		36.8	83	33.7		33.2	52	21.1		24.4

¹CCF through 1958.
²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

vincial government that is not quite reflected in terms of the Members of Parliament sent to Ottawa from Manitoba.

Notes

1. See David E. Smith, *The Regional Decline of a National Party: Liberals on the Prairies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). A historical overview of Manitoba's political development and culture is Thomas Peterson's "Manitoba: Ethnic and Class Politics," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party System of the Ten Provinces* (2d ed.; Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 61-119.
2. Ibid., p. 86.
3. Ibid., esp. pp. 88ff; Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," *Queen's Quarterly* 88 (Summer 1981), 298-315.
4. A useful review of Manitoba's political history can be found in Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics of Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), chap. 7.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		5,751	2.0			31,289	11.1	17	280,992
		5,831	1.8			15,884	5.0	17	316,883
		10,322	3.2			18,435	5.7	17	322,815
						13,189	4.1	16	320,911
		17,260	6.3			7,696	2.8	14	272,777
		45,803	13.2			4,162	1.2	14	348,110
		6,753	1.8			1,503	0.4	14	382,560
		26,662	6.8			3,297	0.8	14	389,338
		28,157	7.0			826	0.2	14	399,553
		16,315	4.3			237	0.1	14	379,440
		949	0.2			7,732	1.9	13	400,393
		3,228	0.7			2,183	0.5	13	443,154
		4,750	1.1			1,692	0.4	13	446,731
		1,044	0.2			1,599	0.3	14	513,773
						3,610	0.8	14	475,904
						39,765	7.7	14	513,834
						28,749	5.3	14	540,090
			2.9				2.8	246	

Table 10–2 Manitoba—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	17	16	1		10	17	4	10		14		2		6				18		2		71	12
1940	17	17		1		17	14	1	1	13	1		1	4				5				56	2
1945	17	17	1	1		17	10			17	1	4		8				8				67	5
1949	16	15	1		1	16	7	5	1	14	2	1	4					5				50	6
1953	14	14	2	1		14	8		2	10	2	1		8				10				56	2
1957	14	14	3	5		14	1		6	14	3	2		14				4				60	7
1958	14	14	8	6		14			1	14			5	6				1				49	6
1962	14	14	11		3	14		1		14		2		13				3				58	3
1963	14	14	10		1	14	1	1		13	2			13				1				55	1
1965	14	14	9	1	1	14	1		1	14	2	1		11				1				54	2
1968	13	13	5		5	13	1	4		13	2	1		4				5				48	5
1972	13	13	5	3		13	2		3	13	3			4				2				45	3
1974	13	13	8	1		13	2			13	2		1	10				9				58	1
1979 ²	14	14	5		2	14	1			14	2	2		10				11				63	2
1980	14	14	5		2	14	2			14	5	2						18				60	2
1984	14	14	5	4		14	1		1	14	4		3					26				68	4
1988 ²	14	14	3		2	14		4		14	1		2					43				85	4
Totals	246	244	82	23	27	246	55	26	21	232	31	18	16	111				170		2		1,003	67

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 14 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

²Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 8 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Table 10–3 Manitoba—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935	3	4	5	2		3	17
1940	4	1	2	3	3	4	17
1945	3	7	3	1	1	2	17
1949	5		1	2	3	5	16
1953	2	1	4	2	2	3	14
1957	1	3	3	2	2	3	14
1958	2		3	2		7	14
1962	1	4	5		3	1	14
1963	3	1	2	3	4	1	14
1965	1	3	1	2	5	2	14
1968	2	3	3	3	2		13
1972	2	1	2	3	1	4	13
1974	2	3	1	1	1	5	13
1979	4	1	1	1		7	14
1980	1	2	3	2	3	3	14
1984	1	6	2	1	1	3	14
1988	3	5		2	1	3	14
Totals	40	45	41	32	32	56	246
Means	16.3	18.3	16.7	13.0	13.0	22.8	

Table 10–4 Manitoba—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon	6,575	38.9	6,368	37.7	3,396	20.1			556	3.3	16,895
Churchill	3,091	34.3	3,603	40.0	2,313	25.7					9,007
Dauphin	5,628	37.0	7,091	46.6	2,508	16.5					15,227
Lisgar	4,453	43.7	4,973	48.8					767	7.5	10,193
Macdonald	4,072	28.7	5,987	42.2	967	6.8			3,156	22.3	14,182
Marquette	5,010	31.8	6,850	43.5	3,877	24.6					15,737
Neepawa	4,582	36.2	5,968	47.2	1,015	8.0			1,091	8.6	12,656
Portage la Prairie	4,043	37.0	5,516	50.4					1,375	12.6	10,934
Provencher	3,751	37.3	6,308	62.7							10,059
St. Boniface	2,222	17.2	7,353	56.8	2,304	17.8	624	4.8	438	3.4	12,941
Selkirk	4,098	21.1	9,230	47.4	1,633	8.4	1,273	6.5	3,228	16.6	19,462
Souris	4,501	42.5	4,504	42.5	953	9.0			631	6.0	10,589
Springfield	2,351	16.3	3,564	24.7	3,117	21.6			5,423	37.5	14,455
Winnipeg North			8,412	29.3	12,093	42.2	905	3.2	7,276	25.4	28,686
Winnipeg North Centre	4,657	19.2	6,025	24.8	10,052	41.4	1,035	4.3	2,490	10.3	24,259
Winnipeg South	7,158	28.9	10,871	43.9	3,690	14.9	800	3.2	2,216	9.0	24,735
Winnipeg South Centre	9,382	30.3	11,264	36.4	6,573	21.2	1,114	3.6	2,642	8.5	30,975
Province Totals	75,574	26.9	113,887	40.5	54,491	19.4	5,751	2.0	31,289	11.1	280,992
Rejected											3,597
Total Vote Cast											284,589

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (17)
Reconstn. = 16,439 ¹	12
Comm. = 9,229	2
Ind. LP = 2,998	1
Ind. Lib. = 2,343	2
Ind. = 280	1

¹Details of the Reconstruction vote can be found in Scarrow (1962).

Table 10–5 Manitoba—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon	6,168	34.9	8,908	50.4	2,609	14.8					17,685
Churchill	4,963	37.5	8,276	62.5							13,239
Dauphin	5,900	34.7	5,953	35.0	5,142	30.3					16,995
Lisgar	2,433	25.6	5,221	55.0	1,160	12.2	685	7.2			9,499
Macdonald	4,510	30.3	7,728	51.9	2,639	17.7					14,877
Marquette	4,545	27.0	7,027	41.8					5,259	31.2	16,831
Neepawa	4,865	35.3	6,724	48.7			2,208	16.0			13,797
Portage la Prairie	4,835	39.4	7,442	60.6							12,277
Provencher	1,441	11.8	3,768	30.8	841	6.9	1,099	9.0	5,094	41.6	12,243
St. Boniface	3,578	23.4	7,926	51.8	1,739	11.4	1,839	12.0	216	1.4	15,298
Selkirk	3,890	17.9	11,023	50.6	6,869	31.5					21,782
Souris	4,991	44.5	4,861	43.3	1,370	12.2					11,222

Table 10-5 (Continued)

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Springfield	3,311	18.6	7,462	41.9	7,018	39.4					17,791
Winnipeg North	2,255	7.1	13,015	40.9	11,249	35.3			5,315	16.7	31,834
Winnipeg North Centre	5,412	19.4	11,199	40.1	11,324	40.5					27,935
Winnipeg South	8,445	30.4	15,461	55.6	3,912	14.1					27,818
Winnipeg South Centre	10,698	29.9	19,486	54.5	5,576	15.6					35,760
Province Totals	82,240	26.0	151,480	47.8	61,448	19.4	5,831	1.8	15,884	5.0	316,883
Rejected											3,977
Total Vote Cast											320,860

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (17)
Ind. = 10,569	4
Comm. = 5,315	1

Table 10-6 Manitoba—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon	5,621	30.7	6,870	37.6	5,294	29.0			497	2.7	18,282
Churchill	3,884	28.8	4,359	32.4	5,226	38.8					13,469
Dauphin	4,599	28.1	5,550	33.9	6,226	38.0					16,375
Lisgar	4,257	41.2	4,552	44.1	1,512	14.6					10,321
Macdonald	5,147	35.2	6,147	42.1	2,078	14.2	1,235	8.5			14,607
Marquette	5,062	30.6	6,367	38.5	5,098	30.8					16,527
Neepawa	6,497	46.5	4,624	33.1	2,848	20.4					13,969
Portage la Prairie	3,592	29.4	5,457	44.7	2,306	18.9	857	7.0			12,212
Provencher	894	7.8	4,541	39.7	1,838	16.1	1,940	17.0	2,220	19.4	11,433
St. Boniface	3,421	20.9	6,055	37.0	4,823	29.4	1,369	8.4	710	4.3	16,378
Selkirk	3,499	16.9	6,448	31.2	7,556	36.5	1,197	5.8	1,978	9.6	20,678
Souris	6,177	58.0	2,640	24.8	1,838	17.3					10,655
Springfield	2,308	13.7	5,376	31.8	4,797	28.4	1,783	10.6	2,631	15.6	16,895
Winnipeg North	2,584	7.5	8,839	25.7	13,055	37.9	864	2.5	9,116	26.5	34,458
Winnipeg North Centre	4,711	16.4	5,728	19.9	15,971	55.5	1,077	3.7	1,283	4.5	28,770
Winnipeg South	9,589	31.4	11,921	39.0	9,033	29.6					30,543
Winnipeg South Centre	8,461	22.7	16,389	44.0	12,393	33.3					37,243
Province Totals	80,303	24.9	111,863	34.7	101,892	31.6	10,322	3.2	18,435	5.7	322,815
Rejected											4,979
Total Vote Cast											327,794

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (17)
Lab. Prog. = 15,984	6
Ind. = 2,451	2

Table 10–7 Manitoba—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon	7,150	35.1	11,263	55.3					1,964	9.6	20,377
Churchill	3,570	23.8	6,847	45.6	4,595	30.6					15,012
Dauphin	2,541	14.5	7,896	45.1	7,089	40.4					17,526
Lisgar	5,684	34.8	9,190	56.2	1,470	9.0					16,344
Marquette	4,016	23.4	10,144	59.2	2,984	17.4					17,144
Norquay	807	5.8	8,430	60.2	4,776	34.1					14,013
Portage–Neepawa	6,819	37.3	9,192	50.3	2,269	12.4					18,280
Provencher			6,834	63.0					4,008	37.0	10,842
St. Boniface	2,557	13.6	10,766	57.3	5,455	29.0					18,778
Selkirk	6,158	28.5	7,593	35.2	7,819	36.2					21,570
Souris	6,108	48.1	5,495	43.3	1,083	8.5					12,686
Springfield	3,494	20.2	8,253	47.8	4,418	25.6			1,117	6.5	17,282
Winnipeg North	1,816	5.7	11,962	37.8	12,432	39.3			5,406	17.1	31,616
Winnipeg North Centre	3,434	12.0	9,010	31.6	15,389	53.9			694	2.4	28,527
Winnipeg South	9,942	29.3	16,235	47.8	7,765	22.9					33,942
Winnipeg South Centre	6,593	24.4	14,747	54.7	5,632	20.9					26,972
Province Totals	70,689	22.0	153,857	47.9	83,176	25.9			13,189	4.1	320,911
Rejected											3,168
Total Vote Cast											324,079

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (16)
Ind. = 6,666	3
Lab. Prog. = 6,523	2

Table 10–8 Manitoba—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon–Souris	13,915	58.0	8,456	35.3	1,277	5.3			323	1.3	23,971
Churchill	2,567	20.8	4,984	40.4	2,293	18.6	2,490	20.2			12,334
Dauphin	2,136	13.4	5,050	31.8	6,839	43.0	1,866	11.7			15,891
Lisgar	4,780	33.1	6,581	45.5			3,096	21.4			14,457
Marquette	4,676	25.9	9,900	54.7			3,509	19.4			18,085
Portage–Neepawa	5,604	31.5	8,958	50.4			3,223	18.1			17,785
Provencher	2,151	21.4	6,632	66.0			1,269	12.6			10,052
St. Boniface	4,994	26.8	8,051	43.3	5,568	29.9					18,613
Selkirk	898	6.3	6,265	43.9	6,076	42.6	586	4.1	448	3.1	14,273
Springfield	1,201	9.7	6,240	50.4	1,878	15.2	1,221	9.9	1,830	14.8	12,370
Winnipeg North	3,876	12.7	9,094	29.8	15,005	49.2			2,515	8.2	30,490
Winnipeg North Centre	1,760	7.5	7,535	31.9	12,713	53.8			1,606	6.8	23,614
Winnipeg South	12,597	39.9	12,277	38.9	6,247	19.8			470	1.5	31,591
Winnipeg South Centre	12,489	42.7	9,752	33.3	6,506	22.2			504	1.7	29,251
Province Totals	73,644	27.0	109,775	40.2	64,402	23.6	17,260	6.3	7,696	2.8	272,777
Rejected											3,645
Total Vote Cast											276,422

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)
Lab. Prog. = 6,194	7
Ind. Lib. = 1,361	2
Ind. = 141	1

Table 10–9 Manitoba—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon–Souris	17,389	61.6	5,831	20.7	1,145	4.1	3,866	13.7			28,231
Churchill	6,191	38.8	4,993	31.3	1,870	11.7	2,891	18.1			15,945
Dauphin	3,463	20.6	2,896	17.2	6,706	39.9	2,442	14.5	1,304	7.8	16,811
Lisgar	8,708	45.9	4,390	23.1	443	2.3	5,246	27.6	205	1.1	18,992
Marquette	9,695	43.8	7,190	32.5	1,288	5.8	3,959	17.9			22,132
Portage–Neepawa	9,248	43.0	6,407	29.8	1,630	7.6	4,247	19.7			21,532
Provencher	4,739	35.2	4,489	33.3	246	1.8	3,992	29.6			13,466
St. Boniface	6,040	24.2	7,777	31.1	6,216	24.9	3,872	15.5	1,074	4.3	24,979
Selkirk	2,107	12.5	5,530	32.8	7,432	44.1	1,796	10.6			16,865
Springfield	1,684	10.8	4,453	28.5	5,949	38.0	3,558	22.7			15,644
Winnipeg North	6,905	16.5	9,806	23.5	20,354	48.7	3,161	7.6	1,579	3.8	41,805
Winnipeg North Centre	5,821	21.0	4,813	17.3	15,229	54.9	1,880	6.8			27,743
Winnipeg South	23,855	51.8	12,713	27.6	7,112	15.5	2,332	5.1			46,012
Winnipeg South Centre	19,022	50.1	9,592	25.3	6,778	17.9	2,561	6.7			37,953
Province Totals	124,867	35.9	90,880	26.1	82,398	23.7	45,803	13.2	4,162	1.2	348,110
Rejected											3,799
Total Vote Cast											351,909

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)
Ind. Lib. = 2,378	2
Lab. Prog. = 1,579	1
Ind. = 205	1

Table 10-10 Manitoba—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	22,185	74.0	5,303	17.7	1,552	5.2	946	3.2			29,986
Churchill	11,506	64.7	4,159	23.4	2,118	11.9					17,783
Dauphin	8,674	46.4	3,981	21.3	6,023	32.2					18,678
Lisgar	13,072	66.8	4,546	23.2	520	2.7	1,445	7.4			19,583
Marquette	14,748	64.4	5,598	24.4	1,572	6.9	993	4.3			22,911
Portage—Neepawa	15,304	65.6	6,434	27.6	1,598	6.8					23,336
Provencher	8,278	54.5	5,268	34.7	281	1.8	1,363	9.0			15,190
St. Boniface	12,688	44.0	9,500	33.0	5,759	20.0	881	3.1			28,828
Selkirk	8,878	47.6	4,467	24.0	5,291	28.4					18,636
Springfield	7,045	42.4	3,491	21.0	4,962	29.9	1,125	6.8			16,623
Winnipeg North	19,629	42.4	5,700	12.3	19,414	42.0			1,503	3.3	46,246
Winnipeg North Centre	14,911	46.6	3,552	11.1	13,536	42.3					31,999
Winnipeg South	32,308	63.2	12,524	24.5	6,305	12.3					51,137
Winnipeg South Centre	27,722	66.6	7,927	19.0	5,975	14.4					41,624
Province Totals	216,948	56.7	82,450	21.6	74,906	19.6	6,753	1.8	1,503	0.4	382,560
Rejected											3,088
Total Vote Cast											385,648

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (14)
 Lab. Prog. = 1,503 1

Table 10-11 Manitoba—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	17,813	60.1	6,143	20.7	1,438	4.9	4,229	14.3			29,623
Churchill	10,943	51.3	6,511	30.6	3,858	18.1					21,312
Dauphin	7,158	39.6	4,620	25.6	4,619	25.6	1,665	9.2			18,062
Lisgar	9,352	50.0	5,394	28.9	449	2.4	3,492	18.7			18,687
Marquette	11,366	52.5	6,494	30.0	1,553	7.2	2,256	10.4			21,669
Portage—Neepawa	11,125	47.2	7,615	32.3	2,285	9.7	1,425	6.0	1,144	4.8	23,594
Provencher	6,214	43.5	5,290	37.1	263	1.8	2,504	17.5			14,271
St. Boniface	9,483	29.8	12,084	37.9	7,508	23.6	2,773	8.7			31,848
Selkirk	8,797	43.6	6,272	31.1	4,198	20.8	920	4.6			20,187
Springfield	8,052	40.4	5,248	26.3	4,960	24.9	1,669	8.4			19,929
Winnipeg North	14,000	28.1	14,270	28.7	18,236	36.7	1,733	3.5	1,504	3.0	49,743
Winnipeg North Centre	9,231	31.8	5,443	18.8	12,797	44.2	864	3.0	649	2.2	28,984
Winnipeg South	21,743	41.1	21,351	40.3	7,993	15.1	1,834	3.5			52,921
Winnipeg South Centre	16,547	43.0	14,306	37.2	6,357	16.5	1,298	3.4			38,508
Province Totals	161,824	41.6	121,041	31.1	76,514	19.7	26,662	6.8	3,297	0.8	389,338
Rejected											3,685
Total Vote Cast											393,023

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (14)
 Comm. = 2,153 2
 Ind. = 1,144 1

Table 10-12 Manitoba—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	18,100	60.5	7,011	23.4	1,514	5.1	3,305	11.0			29,930
Churchill	11,707	53.3	7,253	33.0	2,990	13.6					21,950
Dauphin	7,541	43.0	5,526	31.5	1,148	6.5	3,334	19.0			17,549
Lisgar	9,698	50.0	5,167	26.7	416	2.1	4,099	21.2			19,380
Marquette	11,729	54.7	6,709	31.3	981	4.6	2,036	9.5			21,455
Portage—Neepawa	12,532	50.6	8,398	33.9	1,551	6.3	1,484	6.0	826	3.3	24,791
Provencher	6,729	46.1	5,351	36.7			2,512	17.2			14,592
St. Boniface	9,716	29.2	13,547	40.7	6,184	18.6	3,859	11.6			33,306
Selkirk	10,096	50.6	6,937	34.8	2,211	11.1	718	3.6			19,962
Springfield	9,552	47.5	5,532	27.5	3,648	18.2	1,358	6.8			20,090
Winnipeg North	14,391	28.4	16,081	31.7	18,512	36.5	1,729	3.4			50,713
Winnipeg North Centre	7,814	26.5	7,077	24.0	13,619	46.1	1,026	3.5			29,536
Winnipeg South	22,316	39.7	24,467	43.6	7,867	14.0	1,515	2.7			56,165
Winnipeg South Centre	17,092	42.6	15,849	39.5	6,011	15.0	1,182	2.9			40,134
Province Totals	169,013	42.3	134,905	33.8	66,652	16.7	28,157	7.0	826	0.2	399,553
Rejected											2,317
Total Vote Cast											401,870

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (14)
 Ind. = 826 1

Table 10-13 Manitoba—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	15,554	54.6	7,522	26.4	2,913	10.2	2,518	8.8			28,507
Churchill	10,773	51.0	5,694	27.0	3,306	15.6	1,352	6.4			21,125
Dauphin	6,545	39.9	4,082	24.9	3,202	19.5	2,558	15.6			16,387
Lisgar	8,988	51.4	4,925	28.2	619	3.5	2,711	15.5	237	1.4	17,480
Marquette	10,613	52.1	6,424	31.5	1,724	8.5	1,623	8.0			20,384
Portage—Neepawa	13,043	51.6	8,260	32.7	2,896	11.5	1,060	4.2			25,259
Provencher	6,470	48.1	5,243	39.0	542	4.0	1,195	8.9			13,450
St. Boniface	10,499	31.5	13,961	41.8	8,923	26.7					33,383
Selkirk	8,573	46.4	4,765	25.8	4,456	24.1	678	3.7			18,472
Springfield	7,246	35.5	4,104	20.1	8,001	39.2	1,085	5.3			20,436
Winnipeg North	10,992	22.8	13,420	27.9	22,950	47.7	771	1.6			48,133
Winnipeg North Centre	6,085	23.8	5,384	21.1	14,056	55.1					25,525
Winnipeg South	23,576	43.4	20,396	37.5	10,371	19.1					54,343
Winnipeg South Centre	15,296	41.8	13,262	36.3	7,234	19.8	764	2.1			36,556
Province Totals	154,253	40.7	117,442	31.0	91,193	24.0	16,315	4.3	237	0.1	379,440
Rejected											2,922
Total Vote Cast											382,362

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (14)
 Ind. = 237 1

Table 10-14 Manitoba—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	15,060	51.8	9,963	34.3	4,031	13.9					29,054
Churchill	9,009	41.8	7,673	35.6	4,888	22.7					21,570
Dauphin	8,701	37.2	6,770	28.9	6,734	28.8	1,194	5.1			23,399
Lisgar	11,785	51.7	7,748	34.0	1,305	5.7	1,350	5.9	614	2.7	22,802
Marquette	12,706	48.6	9,183	35.1	3,651	14.0			593	2.3	26,133
Portage	8,025	40.9	8,415	42.9	3,184	16.2					19,624
Provencher	7,791	36.0	9,021	41.6	3,078	14.2	1,773	8.2			21,663
St. Boniface	8,048	18.9	22,032	51.7	11,566	27.2			949	2.2	42,595
Selkirk	8,781	22.6	12,020	31.0	17,310	44.6	707	1.8			38,818
Winnipeg North	3,206	9.3	14,645	42.7	15,608	45.5			869	2.5	34,328
Winnipeg North Centre	4,124	13.6	11,323	37.3	14,880	49.1					30,327
Winnipeg South	15,209	34.4	23,457	53.1	5,499	12.5					44,165
Winnipeg South Centre	13,268	28.9	23,775	51.8	8,240	17.9			632	1.4	45,915
Province Totals	125,713	31.4	166,025	41.5	99,974	25.0	5,024	1.3	3,657	0.9	400,393
Rejected											2,879
Total Vote Cast											403,272

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (13)
Ind. = 1,207	2
RC = 949	1
Comm. = 869	1
Ind. Cons. = 632	1

Table 10-15 Manitoba—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	17,923	60.6	5,968	20.2	5,501	18.6			190	0.6	29,582
Churchill	9,462	34.6	8,536	31.2	9,059	33.1			327	1.2	27,384
Dauphin	12,584	54.4	4,305	18.6	6,234	27.0					23,123
Lisgar	17,253	71.0	4,469	18.4	1,627	6.7	943	3.9			24,292
Marquette	16,155	63.0	4,572	17.8	4,917	19.2					25,644
Portage	9,781	45.5	7,474	34.8	4,036	18.8			199	0.9	21,490
Provencher	11,262	45.3	6,489	26.1	6,304	25.4	784	3.2			24,839
St. Boniface	13,033	26.1	22,200	44.4	13,857	27.7	643	1.3	241	0.5	49,974
Selkirk—Interlake	17,842	39.8	8,709	19.4	17,872	39.9	418	0.9			44,841
Winnipeg North	9,446	25.4	11,150	30.0	15,931	42.8			701	1.9	37,228
Winnipeg North Centre	7,050	25.1	6,984	24.9	13,263	47.3	440	1.6	320	1.1	28,057
Winnipeg South	17,022	33.9	25,534	50.9	7,413	14.8			205	0.4	50,174
Winnipeg South Centre	25,550	45.2	20,516	36.3	10,460	18.5					56,526
Province Totals	184,363	41.6	136,906	30.9	116,474	26.3	3,228	0.7	2,183	0.5	443,154
Rejected											10,488
Total Vote Cast											453,642

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (13)
None = 1,666	5
Ind. = 517	2

Table 10-16 Manitoba—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	16,624	57.8	5,988	20.8	5,616	19.5	540	1.9			28,768
Churchill	11,225	41.0	7,136	26.1	8,415	30.8	577	2.1			27,353
Dauphin	11,439	46.7	5,300	21.6	7,743	31.6					24,482
Lisgar	16,465	70.6	4,414	18.9	1,278	5.5	1,164	5.0			23,321
Marquette	15,933	66.9	4,498	18.9	3,094	13.0			286	1.2	23,811
Portage	11,829	54.7	6,671	30.8	2,857	13.2	179	0.8	97	0.4	21,633
Provencher	13,405	54.8	5,558	22.7	4,907	20.0	613	2.5			24,483
St. Boniface	18,604	36.2	21,853	42.6	10,364	20.2	536	1.0			51,357
Selkirk—Interlake	22,441	44.4	7,239	14.3	20,667	40.9			148	0.3	50,495
Winnipeg North	12,196	33.2	8,677	23.6	15,026	40.9	410	1.1	470	1.3	36,779
Winnipeg North Centre	8,521	31.6	5,883	21.8	12,023	44.5	225	0.8	344	1.3	26,996
Winnipeg South	22,031	43.4	23,297	45.9	5,016	9.9	141	0.3	245	0.5	50,730
Winnipeg South Centre	32,277	57.1	15,956	28.2	7,823	13.8	365	0.6	102	0.2	56,523
Province Totals	212,990	47.7	122,470	27.4	104,829	23.5	4,750	1.1	1,692	0.4	446,731
Rejected											1,700
Total Vote Cast											448,431

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (13)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (13)
Comm. = 667	3	Ind. = 286	1
M.-L. = 477	5	None = 262	3

Table 10-17 Manitoba—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	19,108	52.7	7,918	21.8	8,949	24.7	302	0.8			36,277
Churchill	7,802	32.1	3,936	16.2	12,544	51.7					24,282
Dauphin	12,239	43.2	4,311	15.2	11,770	41.6					28,320
Lisgar	21,366	70.1	6,201	20.3	2,920	9.6					30,487
Portage—Marquette	18,824	58.3	6,164	19.1	6,612	20.5	347	1.1	319	1.0	32,266
Provencher	17,030	51.7	7,459	22.6	8,473	25.7					32,962
St. Boniface	16,987	35.2	19,752	40.9	11,455	23.7			116	0.2	48,310
Selkirk—Interlake	13,569	40.7	5,522	16.6	14,225	42.7					33,316
Winnipeg—Assiniboine	28,192	56.3	13,668	27.3	7,949	15.9	150	0.3	72	0.1	50,031
Winnipeg—Birds Hill	19,536	38.4	5,674	11.2	25,492	50.2			118	0.2	50,820
Winnipeg—Fort Garry	18,337	40.1	18,822	41.1	8,176	17.9	245	0.5	177	0.4	47,757
Winnipeg North	11,749	27.6	8,002	18.8	22,417	52.7			383	0.9	42,551
Winnipeg North Centre	5,408	20.6	5,428	20.7	15,121	57.6			279	1.1	26,236
Winnipeg—St. James	12,640	39.3	7,636	23.7	11,747	36.5			135	0.4	32,158
Province Totals	222,787	43.4	120,493	23.5	167,850	32.7	1,044	0.2	1,599	0.3	513,773
Rejected											1,710
Total Vote Cast											515,483

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)
M.-L. = 651	7	Ind. = 319	1
Comm. = 486	3	None = 143	2

Table 10-18 Manitoba—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	16,098	46.9	9,661	28.1	8,509	24.8			76	0.2	34,344
Churchill	6,084	25.5	7,092	29.7	10,319	43.3			352	1.5	23,847
Dauphin	11,116	38.4	4,849	16.8	12,960	44.8					28,925
Lisgar	18,057	62.7	7,016	24.3	3,353	11.6			396	1.4	28,822
Portage—Marquette	16,219	53.0	6,973	22.8	7,221	23.6			174	0.6	30,587
Provencher	14,677	44.9	8,271	25.3	9,281	28.4			433	1.3	32,662
St. Boniface	13,044	29.4	20,076	45.2	11,191	25.2			57	0.1	44,368
Selkirk—Interlake	11,847	36.0	5,953	18.1	15,055	45.7			97	0.3	32,952
Winnipeg—Assiniboine	22,160	49.1	15,424	34.2	7,304	16.2			246	0.5	45,134
Winnipeg—Birds Hill	13,385	29.4	7,020	15.4	24,672	54.3			382	0.8	45,459
Winnipeg—Fort Garry	13,854	34.3	18,694	46.3	7,293	18.1			495	1.2	40,336
Winnipeg North	8,313	22.6	9,517	25.9	18,561	50.5			344	0.9	36,735
Winnipeg North Centre	4,113	18.6	5,176	23.3	12,637	57.0			245	1.1	22,171
Winnipeg—St. James	10,640	36.0	7,531	25.5	11,078	37.5			313	1.1	29,562
Province Totals	179,607	37.7	133,253	28.0	159,434	33.5			3,610	0.8	475,904
Rejected											1,378
Total Vote Cast											477,282

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)
Rhino = 1,748	5	Comm. = 371	2
M.-L. = 894	10	Ind. = 201	1
None = 396	1		

Table 10-19 Manitoba—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	18,813	63.3	5,278	17.8	5,631	18.9					29,722
Churchill	8,010	33.7	4,272	18.0	10,829	45.6			658	2.8	23,769
Dauphin—Swan River	11,973	45.1	4,352	16.4	10,219	38.5					26,544
Lisgar	15,557	69.2	4,423	19.7	2,052	9.1			437	1.9	22,469
Portage—Marquette	15,378	63.6	4,161	17.2	4,447	18.4			204	0.8	24,190
Provencher	20,077	62.5	4,859	15.1	6,941	21.6			232	0.7	32,109
St. Boniface	19,548	41.1	16,763	35.2	11,279	23.7					47,590
Selkirk—Interlake	13,750	45.1	3,510	11.5	13,088	42.9			163	0.5	30,511
Winnipeg—Assiniboine	27,567	53.7	16,200	31.6	7,067	13.8			472	0.9	51,306
Winnipeg—Birds Hill	20,644	40.4	5,447	10.7	23,903	46.8			1,118	2.2	51,112
Winnipeg—Fort Garry	18,932	40.7	21,286	45.7	5,932	12.7			423	0.9	46,573
Winnipeg North	12,705	30.2	10,421	24.8	18,209	43.3			706	1.7	42,041
Winnipeg North Centre	6,470	28.3	5,144	22.5	10,559	46.1			718	3.1	22,891
Winnipeg—St. James	12,523	43.8	6,007	21.0	9,843	34.4			250	0.9	28,623
Province Totals	221,947	46.3	112,123	23.4	139,999	29.2			5,381	1.1	479,450
Rejected											2,219
Total Vote Cast											481,669

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)
CRWP = 34,384	10	Rhino = 1,006	2
Ind. = 2,067	4	Comm. = 484	3
Libert. = 1,824	7		

Table 10-21 Manitoba Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1936–1988

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
July 27, 1936	16	29.1	71,927	25.3	23	41.8	91,357	32.1	7	12.7	30,983	10.9
April 22, 1941	14	25.5	33,139	20.3	28	50.9	59,038	36.1	3	5.5	24,350	14.3
October 15, 1945	13	23.6	34,410	15.8	25	45.5	70,475	32.3	9	16.4	73,988	33.3
November 10, 1949	9	15.8	23,410	11.9	31	54.4	77,335	39.2	7	12.3	49,933	25.1
June 8, 1953	12	21.1	56,278	21.0	32	56.1	105,958	39.6	5	8.8	44,332	16.5
June 16, 1958	26	45.6	117,822	40.5	19	33.3	101,763	35.0	11	19.3	58,671	20.2
May 14, 1959	36	63.2	147,140	46.8	11	19.3	94,452	30.1	10	17.5	69,594	22.2
December 14, 1962	36	63.2	134,187	45.2	13	22.8	108,270	36.4	7	12.3	45,430	15.1
June 23, 1966	31	54.4	130,102	40.0	14	24.6	107,841	33.1	11	19.3	75,333	23.3
June 25, 1969	22	38.6	119,021	35.6	5	8.8	80,288	24.0	28	49.1	128,080	38.6
June 28, 1973	21	36.8	171,553	36.7	5	8.8	88,907	19.0	31	54.4	197,585	42.9
October 11, 1977	33	57.9	237,496	48.8	1	1.8	59,865	12.3	23	40.4	188,124	38.6
November 17, 1981	23	40.4	211,602	43.8		0.0	32,373	6.7	34	59.6	228,784	47.1
March 18, 1986	26	45.6	193,728	40.6	1	1.8	66,469	13.9	30	52.6	198,261	41.1
April 26, 1988	25	43.9	206,180	38.4	20	35.1	190,913	35.5	12	21.1	126,954	23.4
Totals and Means	343	40.4		34.0	228	26.9		28.4	228	26.9		27.1

¹CCF through 1959. ²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 10-20 Manitoba—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Brandon—Souris	17,372	46.8	11,404	30.7	5,018	13.5			3,343	9.0	37,137
Churchill	5,164	20.5	5,800	23.1	14,168	56.4					25,132
Dauphin—Swan River	14,719	41.4	6,985	19.6	11,881	33.4			1,996	5.6	35,581
Lisgar—Marquette	17,484	53.9	7,174	22.1	2,199	6.8			5,563	17.2	32,420
Portage—Interlake	13,307	38.7	10,381	30.2	6,372	18.6			4,283	12.5	34,343
Provencher	19,000	55.5	11,121	32.5	2,490	7.3			1,603	4.7	34,214
St.Boniface	15,700	33.5	24,164	51.6	5,012	10.7			1,939	4.1	46,815
Selkirk	17,813	38.2	12,451	26.7	13,899	29.8			2,524	5.4	46,687
Winnipeg North	10,527	24.6	16,375	38.3	14,612	34.2			1,236	2.9	42,750
Winnipeg North Centre	5,351	18.3	12,077	41.3	10,450	35.8			1,332	4.6	29,210
Winnipeg St. James	16,993	40.8	18,695	44.8	4,258	10.2			1,747	4.2	41,693
Winnipeg South	22,865	45.9	22,150	44.5	3,151	6.3			1,596	3.2	49,762
Winnipeg South Centre	12,051	28.6	24,659	58.5	4,422	10.5			1,008	2.4	42,140
Winnipeg Transcona	10,815	25.6	13,451	31.9	17,361	41.1			579	1.4	42,206
Province Totals	199,161	36.9	196,887	36.5	115,293	21.3			28,749	5.3	540,090
Rejected											1,787
Total Vote Cast											541,877

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (14)	Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (14)		
RP	=	17,733	12	Ind.	=	1,216	5
CHP	=	4,297	3	None	=	998	8
CRWP	=	1,943	5	Rhino	=	770	2
Libert.	=	1,376	5	Comm.	=	416	3

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
5	9.1	23,413	8.2	4	7.3	66,739	23.5	55	284,419
3	5.5	11,879	7.3	7	12.7	35,202	21.5	55	163,608
2	3.6	4,501	2.1	6	10.9	35,058	16.0	55	218,432
				10	17.5	46,458	23.6	57	197,136
2	3.5	35,750	13.4	6	10.5	25,318	9.5	57	267,636
		5,174	1.8	1	1.8	7,471	2.6	57	290,901
						2,902	0.9	57	314,088
						1,776	0.6	57	297,158
1	1.8	7,495	2.5			735	0.2	57	325,549
1	1.8	11,538	3.5						
1	1.8	4,535	1.4	1	1.8	2,764	0.8	57	334,688
		1,709	0.4			7,290	1.6	57	467,044
		1,323	0.3			346	0.1	57	487,154
						10,133	2.1	57	482,892
						19,232	4.0	57	477,690
						13,363	2.5	57	537,410
15	1.8		2.7	35	4.1		7.3	849	

In this prairie province we have a rarity in Western democracies—a competitive three-party system in which the “third” party, normally considered a minority, is actually dominant in its provincial voting patterns and generally even with the Progressive Conservatives at the national level, especially in recent years. Wiseman characterizes Saskatchewan’s politics as “a struggle between Ontario liberal and British socialist influences,”¹ a statement which is probably more accurate at the provincial than federal level. However, there can be no doubt that the CCF/NDP has played an important role in the province’s federal elections.

At the outset of the period we examine, Saskatchewan was solidly in the Liberal camp, winning majorities of the federal seats in 1935, 1940, and 1949. Since then, their history has been one of near-absolute decline, winning more than 30 percent of the popular vote only twice and winning seats only 5 times in 13 elections. This is consistent with their poor showings in the other two prairie provinces. Smith has suggested that this is due as much to the Liberals’ attempts at party reorganization as its policy changes.²

In place of the once-dominant Liberals, whose popular vote has now fallen to less than 20 percent, the Tories and the CCF/NDP have become the dominant forces, the former more so than the latter. Popular vote majorities in federal elections have occurred only three times (1958, 1962, 1963). These have been captured by the Progressive Conservatives, who managed to win all but two seats in these and the 1965 election, the others having been taken by the CCF/NDP. The latter party has won seats in all but 1963 and 1965, and has won a ma-

jority of the seats in the 1945, 1953, 1957, and 1988 elections. Starting with 1968, the NDP won 36.8 percent of the vote to 38.4 percent for the Tories and 23.6 percent for the Liberals. Hence, it seems fair to say not only that Saskatchewan now has a three-party system, but that a “third” party is really second! British Columbia (chapter 13) is the only other province to which this applies.

It is interesting to note that Social Credit, which had its start in neighboring Alberta, never really caught hold in the province, only twice receiving more than 10 percent of the popular vote, and winning only two seats in 1935. Similarly, Independents and candidates from other parties have not particularly caught the fancy of the Saskatchewan electorate. In 1940 one United Reform and one Unity candidate were elected. It would seem that, for the most part, active three-party politics provide sufficient and pragmatic options for the Saskatchewan electorate.

The Liberals have contested every election since 1935. Second to them in this regard is the CCF/NDP, which has historically been stronger in this province than in most. Only in 1940, their second election on the ballot, did they run less than a full complement. The early years for the Progressive Conservatives, when they were the Conservatives, were those in which they did their worst and also did not run a candidate for every seat.

As a consequence of the three-party nature of the province, margins of victory tend to be rather narrow. Almost half (46.5 percent) of all contests have been decided by margins of less than 10 percent, making Saskatchewan, in this regard, second only to Prince Edward Island

(with its two-party system) in terms of competitiveness. Starting with the 1972 election, Saskatchewan has been considerably more competitive than any other province. It would seem that the the weakening of the Liberals has created a situation where electoral battles are fought more narrowly between the NDP and the Tories.

In provincial elections it is fair to describe the party system, at least through 1975, as two-party in nature, based primarily on the performance of the CCF/NDP and the Liberals.³ Since the Tories were as weak in that period as the Liberals seem to be now, this would seem to be a fair assessment. Dyck notes that the province

appears to have been characterized by two periods of one-party dominance—the Liberal era from 1905 to 1944 and the CCF/NDP from 1944 to 1964. Since 1964, power has changed hands regularly, but even before

1964 there was almost always a competitive two-party system. . . .⁴

Courtney and Smith note, however, as a result of the 1975 election when the Progressive Conservatives bounced back, “that Saskatchewan political alignments may be about to shift once again.”⁵ Since the weakest of the parties tends to come back, it may be more fair to say that Saskatchewan, in its internal politics, is a shifting three-party system, with a varying second party. In the 13 elections from 1938 through 1986, the Tories were able to control a majority of seats only in the last 2, and indeed was virtually invisible prior to 1975, winning only 1 seat in 9 previous elections. They have evidently supplanted the Liberals who held majorities following the 1935, 1964, and 1967 elections. By contrast, the “minor” party, CCF/NDP, has had a popular vote majority 3 times (1944, 1952, 1971), an outright majority of seats following

Table 11–1 Saskatchewan—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	1	4.8	65,078	18.8	16	76.2	141,121	40.8	2	9.5	73,505	21.7
1940	2	9.5	52,496	14.1	12	57.1	159,530	43.0	5	23.8	106,267	29.1
1945	1	4.8	70,830	18.8	2	9.5	123,344	32.7	18	85.7	167,233	44.6
1949	1	5.0	53,624	14.4	14	70.0	161,887	43.4	5	25.0	152,399	40.6
1953	1	5.9	41,538	11.7	5	29.4	133,493	37.7	11	64.7	156,406	44.1
1957	3	17.6	90,359	23.2	4	23.5	118,282	30.3	10	58.8	140,293	37.0
1958	16	94.1	204,442	51.4			78,121	19.6	1	5.9	112,800	28.5
1962	16	94.1	213,385	50.4			94,090	22.2	1	5.9	96,030	23.0
1963	17	100.0	224,700	53.7			100,747	24.1			76,126	18.2
1965	17	100.0	193,254	48.0			96,740	24.0			104,626	25.6
1968	5	38.5	153,233	37.0	2	15.4	112,332	27.1	6	46.2	147,941	35.3
1972	7	53.8	159,629	36.9	1	7.7	109,342	25.3	5	38.5	155,195	35.3
1974	8	61.5	150,846	36.4	3	23.1	127,282	30.7	2	15.4	130,391	30.3
1979	10	71.4	201,803	41.2			106,550	21.8	4	28.6	175,011	35.3
1980	7	50.0	177,376	38.9			110,517	24.2	7	50.0	165,308	35.3
1984	9	64.3	218,000	41.7			95,143	18.2	5	35.7	200,918	38.3
1988	4	28.6	190,463	36.4			95,235	18.2	10	71.4	231,030	44.3
Totals and Means	125	44.6		33.7	59	21.1		28.4	92	32.9		33.3

¹CCF through 1958.
²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

8 elections, and has actually won almost two-thirds of all the seats in these elections. This record is unparalleled in the other provinces, except perhaps for British Columbia, where Social Credit has governed since 1952.

Notes

1. Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," *Queen's Quarterly* 88 (Summer 1981), 298–315. The article is also reprinted in Hugh G. Thorburn, ed., *Party Politics in Canada* (5th ed.; Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1985), pp. 242–59.
2. The standard work on the subject is David E. Smith, *The Regional Decline of a National Party: Liberals on the Prairies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).
3. John C. Courtney and David E. Smith, "Saskatchewan: Parties in a Politically Competitive Province," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces* (2d ed.; Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 293ff.
4. Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), p. 427.
5. "Saskatchewan," p. 296

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
2	9.5	61,505	17.8			4,361	1.3	21	345,570
		12,347	3.3	2	9.5	40,494	10.9	21	371,134
		11,449	3.0			4,030	1.1	21	376,886
		3,474	0.9			1,531	0.4	20	372,915
		18,810	5.3			3,906	1.1	17	354,153
		40,830	10.5			334	0.1	17	390,098
		1,745	0.4			604	0.2	17	397,712
		19,648	4.6			317	0.1	17	423,470
		16,110	3.9			443	0.1	17	418,126
		7,526	1.9			179	0.1	17	402,325
						919	0.2	13	414,425
		7,717	1.8			621	0.1	13	432,504
		4,539	1.1			876	0.2	13	413,934
		2,514	0.5			3,526	0.7	14	489,404
		178	0.1			2,395	0.5	14	455,774
						8,739	1.7	14	522,800
						6,500	1.2	14	523,228
2	0.7		3.2	2	0.7		1.2	280	

Table 11–2 Saskatchewan—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	21	19	1		5	21	7	4	2	21		2		20	2			3		1		84	8
1940	21	9	1	1		21	10	2	6	17	2	3		5		2		10	2			62	8
1945	21	19	1		1	21	2		10	21	5	13		9				4		2		74	13
1949	20	20	1			20	2	12		20	5		12	4				2				66	12
1953	17	15		1		17	5		7	17	5	6		14				9				72	7
1957	17	16	1	2		17	4		1	17	10		1	16				2				68	2
1958	17	17	3	13		17			4	17	1		9	1				3				55	13
1962	17	17	16			17				17	1			15				1				67	
1963	17	17	16	1		17				17			1	16				3				70	1
1965	17	17	17			17				17				12				1				64	
1968	13	13	6		7	13		2		13		5						2				41	7
1972	13	13	4	3	1	13	1		1	13	3	2	3	13				2				54	5
1974	13	13	6	2		13	1	2		13	2		4	12				5				56	4
1979 ²	14	14	5	1	2	14			1	14	1	2		8				8				58	3
1980	14	14	7		3	14				14	4	3		1				11				54	3
1984	14	14	7	2		14				14	5		2					22				64	2
1988 ³	14	14	1		2	14				14	1	2						16				68	2
Totals	280	261	93	26	21	280	32	22	32	276	45	38	32	146	2	2	104	2	3		1,077	90	

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 16 seats which are comparable to the previous election; ²9 seats; ³4 seats.

Table 11–3 Saskatchewan—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935	3	4	4	6	1	3	21
1940	6	9	3	1	2		21
1945	5	5	4	5	1	1	21
1949	3	10	3	1	2	1	20
1953	6	3	3	2	1	2	17
1957	7	7	1	1		1	17
1958		3	2	3	2	7	17
1962	1		4	1	2	9	17
1963		1		3	1	12	17
1965	1	1	3	4	2	6	17
1968	5	6	1			1	13
1972	5	4		2		2	13
1974	6	2	2	1	1	1	13
1979	4	2	4	2	1	1	14
1980	5	5	1	2	1		14
1984	4	2	2	3	2	1	14
1988	3	2	4	2	1	2	14
Totals	64	66	41	39	20	50	280
Means	22.9	23.6	14.6	13.9	7.1	17.9	

Table 11-4 Saskatchewan—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	3,847	25.8	6,213	41.7	3,293	22.1	1,557	10.4			14,910
Humboldt	1,171	7.8	6,877	45.7	4,592	30.5	2,395	15.9			15,035
Kindersley			4,777	34.6	2,189	15.8	6,856	49.6			13,822
Lake Centre	4,100	26.7	5,894	38.3	3,909	25.4	1,474	9.6			15,377
Mackenzie	1,234	8.0	6,595	43.0	4,451	29.0	3,059	19.9			15,339
Maple Creek	3,597	24.1	4,558	30.5	3,622	24.2	3,167	21.2			14,944
Melfort	4,814	25.5	6,389	33.8	2,977	15.8	4,721	25.0			18,901
Melville	3,010	16.4	8,726	47.5	2,892	15.8	3,727	20.3			18,355
Moose Jaw	4,553	27.7	7,353	44.8	2,272	13.8	2,235	13.6			16,413
North Battleford			7,039	45.1	4,168	26.7	4,412	28.2			15,619
Prince Albert	2,880	17.3	9,087	54.7	1,469	8.8	3,185	19.2			16,621
Qu'Appelle	5,769	36.6	5,579	35.4	2,210	14.0	2,186	13.9			15,744
Regina City	7,986	32.2	10,235	41.3	4,706	19.0	1,874	7.6			24,801
Rosetown-Biggar	3,228	21.2	4,360	28.6	6,806	44.7	836	5.5			15,230
Rosthern	602	4.6	7,515	56.9	1,613	12.2	1,628	12.3	1,854	14.0	13,212
Saskatoon City	5,859	30.5	7,690	40.0	1,889	9.8	3,377	17.6	419	2.2	19,234
Swift Current	2,536	17.3	5,682	38.7	2,927	19.9	3,556	24.2			14,701
The Battlefords	2,766	15.1	5,990	32.7	3,247	17.7	6,314	34.5			18,317
Weyburn	1,557	9.6	6,979	43.1	7,280	45.0	362	2.2			16,178
Wood Mountain	1,446	9.6	6,092	40.7	2,864	19.1	4,584	30.6			14,986
Yorkton	4,123	23.1	7,491	42.0	4,129	23.2			2,088	11.7	17,831
Province Totals	65,078	18.8	141,121	40.8	73,505	21.3	61,505	17.8	4,361	1.3	345,570
Rejected											1,966
Total Vote Cast											347,536

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (21)
Reconstn. = 4,361 3

Table 11-5 Saskatchewan—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	3,516	23.2	6,846	45.1	4,812	31.7					15,174
Humboldt			8,808	53.9	7,536	46.1					16,344
Kindersley			5,068	39.1	3,966	30.6	3,922	30.3			12,956
Lake Centre	5,974	36.3	5,694	34.6	4,793	29.1					16,461
Mackenzie			9,211	45.5	10,207	50.4			819	4.0	20,237
Maple Creek	3,182	23.7	5,157	38.4	5,102	38.0					13,441
Melfort			8,019	38.0	11,358	53.8	1,732	8.2			21,109
Melville			10,158	48.3	9,042	43.0			1,837	8.7	21,037
Moose Jaw	7,807	45.4	9,373	54.6							17,180
North Battleford			7,868	42.8					10,500	57.2	18,368
Prince Albert			8,310	46.0	1,993	11.0			7,777	43.0	18,080
Qu'Appelle	8,236	54.9	6,775	45.1							15,011
Regina City	12,745	41.6	14,434	47.1	2,855	9.3			602	2.0	30,636
Rosetown-Biggar	2,381	15.9	4,912	32.7	7,714	51.4					15,007
Rosthern			6,612	50.6	5,456	41.8	999	7.6			13,067

Table 11-5 (Continued)

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saskatoon City			8,346	37.2			241	1.1	13,868	61.8	22,455
Swift Current	3,965	25.6	6,042	38.9	5,507	35.5					15,514
The Battlefords			7,195	41.9	4,512	26.3	5,453	31.8			17,160
Weyburn			7,554	46.3	8,509	52.1			269	1.6	16,332
Wood Mountain			6,375	41.4	5,247	34.1			3,775	24.5	15,397
Yorkton	4,690	23.3	6,773	33.6	7,658	38.0			1,047	5.2	20,168
Province Totals	52,496	14.1	159,530	43.0	106,267	28.6	12,347	3.3	40,494	10.9	371,134
Rejected											2,242
Total Vote Cast											373,376

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (21)	Elected	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (21)	Elected
Un. Refm. = 14,137	2	1	Ind. =	3,775	1
Unity = 12,337	2	1	Comm. =	2,711	4
Nat. Un. = 7,534	1				

Table 11-6 Saskatchewan—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	3,084	19.5	5,779	36.5	6,952	44.0					15,815
Humboldt			6,380	41.7	7,843	51.2	1,094	7.1			15,317
Kindersley	2,653	19.0	4,787	34.3	5,499	39.4	1,001	7.2			13,940
Lake Centre	6,884	41.5	3,812	23.0	5,875	35.5					16,571
Mackenzie	1,580	8.7	5,306	29.4	9,037	50.0	2,143	11.9			18,066
Maple Creek	2,562	17.3	4,084	27.5	6,483	43.7	1,721	11.6			14,850
Melfort	5,793	27.5	5,408	25.7	9,849	46.8					21,050
Melville			10,095	50.1	10,067	49.9					20,162
Moose Jaw	4,358	21.7	5,862	29.2	9,831	49.0					20,051
North Battleford	2,039	12.7	4,420	27.6	5,049	31.5	1,525	9.5	2,971	18.6	16,004
Prince Albert	2,768	14.3	7,799	40.3	7,928	41.0	847	4.4			19,342
Qu'Appelle	5,415	33.0	4,871	29.6	6,146	37.4					16,432
Regina City	6,973	21.8	10,804	33.7	13,799	43.1			441	1.4	32,017
Rosetown-Biggar	3,129	20.5	3,618	23.8	8,484	55.7					15,231
Rosthern	1,299	9.5	6,898	50.5	4,678	34.2	792	5.8			13,667
Saskatoon City	8,339	36.1	4,902	21.2	9,217	39.9			618	2.7	23,076
Swift Current	2,537	15.4	6,169	37.3	7,813	47.3					16,519
The Battlefords	2,994	17.5	5,156	30.2	7,579	44.4	1,346	7.9			17,075
Weyburn	1,739	10.3	5,962	35.4	8,174	48.5	980	5.8			16,855
Wood Mountain	2,718	16.8	5,641	35.0	7,772	48.2					16,131
Yorkton	3,966	21.2	5,591	29.9	9,158	48.9					18,715
Province Totals	70,830	18.8	123,344	32.7	167,233	44.4	11,449	3.0	4,030	1.1	376,886
Rejected											2,653
Total Vote Cast											379,539

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (21)
Unity = 2,124	1
Lab. Prog. = 1,059	2
Ind. Lib. = 847	1

Table 11-7 Saskatchewan—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	2,458	13.3	6,858	37.2	8,442	45.8	656	3.6			18,414
Humboldt	1,022	6.2	8,123	49.4	7,302	44.4					16,447
Kindersley	2,247	13.5	7,872	47.2	6,567	39.4					16,686
Lake Centre	8,845	48.7	3,061	16.8	5,413	29.8	856	4.7			18,175
Mackenzie	697	4.2	7,564	46.0	6,209	37.8	851	5.2	1,122	6.8	16,443
Maple Creek	2,503	14.2	8,217	46.7	6,868	39.0					17,588
Meadow Lake	1,331	10.3	7,078	55.0	4,461	34.7					12,870
Melfort	2,228	13.5	7,117	43.0	7,208	43.5					16,553
Melville	1,465	7.7	11,120	58.6	6,388	33.7					18,973
Moose Jaw	3,334	16.0	7,444	35.8	10,026	48.2					20,804
Moose Mountain	2,570	12.8	9,277	46.3	8,199	40.9					20,046
Prince Albert	2,258	12.2	8,916	48.2	7,341	39.6					18,515
Qu'Appelle	3,519	17.5	9,017	44.7	7,629	37.8					20,165
Regina City	4,060	12.3	14,356	43.5	14,194	43.0			409	1.2	33,019
Rosetown-Biggar	2,670	16.0	5,266	31.5	8,793	52.6					16,729
Rosthern	837	7.0	7,398	62.0	3,700	31.0					11,935
Saskatoon	7,013	25.4	8,868	32.1	11,749	42.5					27,630
Swift Current	1,761	10.9	7,595	47.1	6,776	42.0					16,132
The Battlefords	1,948	11.7	8,034	48.1	6,715	40.2					16,697
Yorkton	858	4.5	8,706	45.6	8,419	44.1	1,111	5.8			19,094
Province Totals	53,624	14.4	161,887	43.4	152,399	40.9	3,474	0.9	1,531	0.4	372,915
Rejected											2,556
Total Vote Cast											375,471

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (20)
Lab. Prog. = 1,531 2

Table 11-8 Saskatchewan—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	1,860	9.1	7,218	35.4	10,596	52.0	698	3.4			20,372
Humboldt-Melfort	1,674	8.0	8,068	38.6	9,512	45.5	1,647	7.9			20,901
Kindersley	1,096	5.4	8,531	41.7	8,672	42.4	2,168	10.6			20,467
Mackenzie	840	4.6	7,466	40.9	8,021	43.9	1,386	7.6	554	3.0	18,267
Meadow Lake	1,079	9.3	5,080	43.7	3,470	29.9	1,817	15.6	177	1.5	11,623
Melville	1,142	5.7	10,024	50.0	8,092	40.4	783	3.9			20,041
Moose Jaw-Lake Centre	4,480	18.9	6,021	25.4	12,436	52.4			792	3.3	23,729
Moose Mountain			8,552	46.7	8,697	47.5	1,067	5.8			18,316
Prince Albert	10,038	44.1	5,409	23.7	7,037	30.9			295	1.3	22,779
Qu'Appelle	4,930	27.1	6,988	38.5	5,612	30.9	644	3.5			18,174
Regina City	2,958	9.3	13,008	40.9	14,558	45.7	1,014	3.2	294	0.9	31,832
Rosetown-Biggar	2,360	11.5	5,516	26.8	11,404	55.5	877	4.3	387	1.9	20,544
Rosthern	1,643	8.7	8,616	45.5	6,347	33.5	2,333	12.3			18,939
Saskatoon	4,661	18.6	7,028	28.1	12,056	48.2	990	4.0	264	1.1	24,999

Table 11–8 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Swift Current–Maple Creek	1,432	6.1	10,088	43.2	9,947	42.6	1,471	6.3	392	1.7	23,330
The Battlefords	1,345	7.2	8,481	45.2	8,922	47.6					18,748
Yorkton			7,399	35.1	11,027	52.3	1,915	9.1	751	3.6	21,092
Province Totals	41,538	11.7	133,493	37.7	156,406	44.2	18,810	5.3	3,906	1.1	354,153
Rejected											2,326
Total Vote Cast											356,479

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)
Lab. Prog. = 3,906 9

Table 11–9 Saskatchewan—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	1,931	8.7	8,862	40.1	10,389	47.0	903	4.1			22,085
Humboldt–Melfort	4,736	23.1	5,412	26.4	7,326	35.7	3,025	14.8			20,499
Kindersley	3,777	16.8	7,336	32.6	8,605	38.3	2,767	12.3			22,485
Mackenzie	3,289	18.5	5,299	29.8	7,231	40.7	1,956	11.0			17,775
Meadow Lake	2,443	19.2	4,140	32.5	3,253	25.5	2,921	22.9			12,757
Melville	2,596	13.3	7,949	40.6	7,590	38.8	1,429	7.3			19,564
Moose Jaw–Lake Centre	9,455	32.7	6,876	23.8	9,834	34.0	2,740	9.5			28,905
Moose Mountain	3,683	18.5	6,373	32.0	6,770	33.9	3,117	15.6			19,943
Prince Albert	12,349	53.1	5,119	22.0	5,795	24.9					23,263
Qu'Appelle	6,217	34.2	5,512	30.4	4,279	23.6	2,150	11.8			18,158
Regina City	10,504	25.7	12,456	30.5	14,561	35.7	2,958	7.2	334	0.8	40,813
Rosetown–Biggar	5,552	25.5	4,994	22.9	9,846	45.2	1,375	6.3			21,767
Rosthern			6,828	36.2	5,830	30.9	6,193	32.9			18,851
Saskatoon	12,905	38.3	6,786	20.1	12,022	35.7	2,003	5.9			33,716
Swift Current–Maple Creek	4,255	16.5	9,639	37.3	8,930	34.5	3,028	11.7			25,852
The Battlefords	4,325	20.4	6,287	29.6	8,320	39.2	2,298	10.8			21,230
Yorkton	2,342	10.4	8,414	37.5	9,712	43.3	1,967	8.8			22,435
Province Totals	90,359	23.2	118,282	30.3	140,293	36.0	40,830	10.5	334	0.1	390,098
Rejected											2,231
Total Vote Cast											392,329

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)
Lab. Prog. = 212 1
Ind. = 122 1

Table 11–10 Saskatchewan—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	6,360	29.4	6,173	28.5	9,104	42.1					21,637
Humboldt–Melfort	9,975	49.6	3,501	17.4	6,619	32.9					20,095
Kindersley	8,935	41.9	5,362	25.1	7,027	33.0					21,324
Mackenzie	9,138	53.1	2,511	14.6	5,559	32.3					17,208
Meadow Lake	6,830	53.3	3,272	25.5	2,719	21.2					12,821
Melville	8,440	42.6	5,673	28.6	5,698	28.8					19,811
Moose Jaw–Lake Centre	18,736	59.6	4,030	12.8	8,535	27.1			146	0.5	31,447
Moose Mountain	9,287	46.1	5,130	25.5	5,712	28.4					20,129
Prince Albert	16,583	72.1	2,538	11.0	3,870	16.8					22,991
Qu'Appelle	10,514	59.0	4,357	24.5	2,941	16.5					17,812
Regina City	24,424	54.4	7,844	17.5	12,391	27.6			262	0.6	44,921
Rosetown–Biggar	9,962	47.7	2,886	13.8	8,051	38.5					20,899
Rosthern	8,166	46.2	4,446	25.1	3,322	18.8	1,745	9.9			17,679
Saskatoon	24,622	60.9	5,505	13.6	10,324	25.5					40,451
Swift Current–Maple Creek	11,618	45.3	6,932	27.0	6,921	27.0			196	0.8	25,667
The Battlefords	10,970	54.0	2,975	14.6	6,363	31.3					20,308
Yorkton	9,882	43.9	4,986	22.1	7,644	34.0					22,512
Province Totals	204,442	51.4	78,121	19.6	112,800	28.4	1,745	0.4	604	0.2	397,712
Rejected											2,237
Total Vote Cast											399,949

Vote Cast for "Other" : Ridings (17)

Lab. Prog. = 458 2

Ind. = 146 1

Table 11–11 Saskatchewan—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	7,386	34.7	5,153	24.2	7,739	36.4	1,009	4.7			21,287
Humboldt–Melfort–Tisdale	11,551	52.3	4,157	18.8	5,071	22.9	1,319	6.0			22,098
Kindersley	9,170	41.5	6,170	27.9	5,088	23.0	1,674	7.6			22,102
Mackenzie	9,457	49.1	4,348	22.6	4,360	22.7	767	4.0	317	1.6	19,249
Meadow Lake	7,587	52.1	4,140	28.4	2,834	19.5					14,561
Melville	8,520	43.9	5,702	29.4	4,313	22.2	859	4.4			19,394
Moose Jaw–Lake Centre	19,456	52.0	7,924	21.2	8,347	22.3	1,720	4.6			37,447
Moose Mountain	8,695	42.8	6,271	30.8	4,156	20.4	1,214	6.0			20,336
Prince Albert	18,276	70.8	2,745	10.6	4,173	16.2	627	2.4			25,821
Qu'Appelle	10,680	58.5	4,291	23.5	2,188	12.0	1,113	6.1			18,272
Regina City	22,164	50.4	7,529	17.1	12,736	28.9	1,583	3.6			44,012
Rosetown–Biggar	11,720	52.7	4,101	18.4	5,362	24.1	1,069	4.8			22,252
Rosthern	10,626	53.6	4,345	21.9	3,193	16.1	1,652	8.3			19,816

Table 11–11 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Saskatoon	25,341	55.9	8,592	19.0	9,842	21.7	1,556	3.4			45,331
Swift Current–Maple Creek	10,814	41.1	7,809	29.6	6,009	22.8	1,711	6.5			26,343
The Battlefords	11,740	53.5	5,045	23.0	5,166	23.5					21,951
Yorkton	10,202	44.0	5,768	24.9	5,453	23.5	1,775	7.7			23,198
Province Totals	213,385	50.4	94,090	22.2	96,030	22.7	19,648	4.6	317	0.1	423,470
Rejected											2,956
Total Vote Cast											426,426

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)
Comm. = 317 1

Table 11–12 Saskatchewan—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	9,393	44.8	7,311	34.9	3,683	17.6	575	2.7			20,962
Humboldt–Melfort–Tisdale	12,010	56.6	3,970	18.7	4,245	20.0	983	4.6			21,208
Kindersley	9,944	45.8	5,957	27.5	4,461	20.6	1,335	6.2			21,697
Mackenzie	10,010	57.1	2,940	16.8	3,706	21.1	691	3.9	179	1.0	17,526
Meadow Lake	7,819	56.5	3,710	26.8	2,319	16.7					13,848
Melville	9,412	48.4	5,629	29.0	3,464	17.8	925	4.8			19,430
Moose Jaw–Lake Centre	20,958	54.8	8,283	21.6	7,439	19.4	1,581	4.1			38,261
Moose Mountain	9,949	49.7	5,962	29.8	3,270	16.3	843	4.2			20,024
Prince Albert	17,824	71.4	3,206	12.8	3,373	13.5	565	2.3			24,968
Qu'Appelle	10,690	60.2	4,312	24.3	2,028	11.4	729	4.1			17,759
Regina City	19,605	46.2	12,234	28.8	9,016	21.2	1,360	3.2	264	0.6	42,479
Rosetown–Biggar	11,984	55.4	4,268	19.7	4,661	21.5	716	3.3			21,629
Rosthern	11,351	60.4	3,804	20.2	2,428	12.9	1,213	6.5			18,796
Saskatoon	26,237	53.3	13,499	27.4	8,262	16.8	1,256	2.6			49,254
Swift Current–Maple Creek	12,963	49.1	7,058	26.8	4,917	18.6	1,444	5.5			26,382
The Battlefords	12,108	58.2	4,179	20.1	3,771	18.1	746	3.6			20,804
Yorkton	12,443	53.9	4,425	19.2	5,083	22.0	1,148	5.0			23,099
Province Totals	224,700	53.7	100,747	24.1	76,126	18.2	16,110	3.9	443	0.1	418,126
Rejected											1,847
Total Vote Cast											419,973

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)
Comm. = 308 2
Ind. = 135 1

Table 11-13 Saskatchewan—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	7,913	38.7	7,294	35.7	4,934	24.1	303	1.5			20,444
Humboldt-Melfort-Tisdale	11,256	54.8	3,604	17.5	5,135	25.0	561	2.7			20,556
Kindersley	9,223	45.0	5,650	27.5	5,640	27.5					20,513
Mackenzie	9,760	57.1	3,033	17.8	4,288	25.1					17,081
Meadow Lake	6,919	54.0	3,520	27.5	2,379	18.6					12,818
Melville	8,843	46.7	5,242	27.7	4,122	21.8	734	3.9			18,941
Moose Jaw-Lake Centre	18,087	45.3	10,332	25.9	10,495	26.3	977	2.4			39,891
Moose Mountain	8,781	46.1	5,375	28.2	4,459	23.4	426	2.2			19,041
Prince Albert	15,635	65.1	3,453	14.4	4,227	17.6	718	3.0			24,033
Qu'Appelle	9,579	57.5	4,033	24.2	2,658	16.0	375	2.3			16,645
Regina City	15,437	40.3	11,018	28.8	10,955	28.6	721	1.9	179	0.5	38,310
Rosetown-Biggar	8,658	42.1	4,368	21.2	7,067	34.4	465	2.3			20,558
Rosthern	10,042	55.5	3,773	20.9	3,571	19.7	704	3.9			18,090
Saskatoon	21,036	44.6	10,529	22.3	15,025	31.8	619	1.3			47,209
Swift Current-Maple Creek	11,227	44.8	6,700	26.7	6,238	24.9	923	3.7			25,088
The Battlefords	10,297	49.3	4,478	21.4	6,107	29.2					20,882
Yorkton	10,561	47.5	4,338	19.5	7,326	33.0					22,225
Province Totals	193,254	48.0	96,740	24.0	104,626	26.0	7,526	1.9	179	0.0	402,325
Rejected											2,306
Total Vote Cast											404,631

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)

Comm. = 179 1

Table 11-14 Saskatchewan—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	9,541	33.5	9,636	33.8	9,295	32.6					28,472
Battleford-Kindersley	9,941	35.0	7,872	27.7	10,583	37.3					28,396
Mackenzie	8,578	42.3	4,199	20.7	7,512	37.0					20,289
Meadow Lake	7,688	39.7	4,932	25.4	6,080	31.4			689	3.6	19,389
Moose Jaw	10,496	35.6	7,000	23.7	11,982	40.6					29,478
Prince Albert	17,850	56.0	5,025	15.8	8,979	28.2					31,854
Qu'Appelle-Moose Mountain	12,429	42.1	8,299	28.1	8,765	29.7					29,493
Regina East	13,449	34.2	11,986	30.5	13,641	34.7			230	0.6	39,306
Regina-Lake Centre	13,572	31.0	13,104	29.9	17,102	39.1					43,778
Saskatoon-Biggar	13,309	35.7	8,071	21.6	15,928	42.7					37,308
Saskatoon-Humboldt	14,444	32.6	15,210	34.3	14,655	33.1					44,309
Swift Current-Maple Creek	11,237	39.6	6,930	24.4	10,207	36.0					28,374
Yorkton-Melville	10,699	31.5	10,068	29.6	13,212	38.9					33,979
Province Totals	153,233	37.0	112,332	27.1	147,941	35.7			919	0.2	414,425
Rejected											2,368
Total Vote Cast											416,793

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (13)

Ind. = 689 1

Comm. = 230 1

Table 11–15 Saskatchewan—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	8,843	32.3	7,799	28.4	9,936	36.2	839	3.1			27,417
Battleford–Kindersley	10,373	35.4	8,286	28.3	10,122	34.6	498	1.7			29,279
Mackenzie	8,164	41.5	3,311	16.8	7,675	39.0	513	2.6			19,663
Meadow Lake	7,171	36.0	4,948	24.8	7,194	36.1	619	3.1			19,932
Moose Jaw	11,967	40.0	5,767	19.3	11,685	39.0	526	1.8			29,945
Prince Albert	19,410	59.5	3,613	11.1	9,115	27.9	421	1.3	61	0.2	32,620
Qu'Appelle–Moose Mountain	14,707	52.3	6,184	22.0	6,834	24.3	392	1.4			28,117
Regina East	17,781	42.5	7,892	18.9	15,175	36.3	774	1.8	231	0.6	41,853
Regina–Lake Centre	16,392	34.2	11,429	23.8	18,983	39.6	1,134	2.4			47,938
Saskatoon–Biggar	13,246	33.8	8,641	22.0	16,777	42.8	529	1.3			39,193
Saskatoon–Humboldt	12,533	23.1	24,733	45.7	16,426	30.3	463	0.9			54,155
Swift Current–Maple Creek	11,500	40.1	7,165	25.0	9,275	32.4	584	2.0	138	0.5	28,662
Yorkton–Melville	7,542	22.4	9,574	28.4	15,998	47.4	425	1.3	191	0.6	33,730
Province Totals	159,629	36.9	109,342	25.3	155,195	35.9	7,717	1.8	621	0.1	432,504
Rejected											9,742
Total Vote Cast											442,246

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (13)

None = 422 2
Ind. = 199 2

Table 11–16 Saskatchewan—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	7,105	26.5	9,986	37.3	9,441	35.3	246	0.9			26,778
Battleford–Kindersley	10,666	36.6	10,751	36.9	7,711	26.5					29,128
Mackenzie	8,292	40.4	4,190	20.4	7,590	37.0	440	2.1			20,512
Meadow Lake	7,419	38.5	4,684	24.3	6,743	34.9	448	2.3			19,294
Moose Jaw	11,678	41.4	6,120	21.7	10,113	35.9	281	1.0			28,192
Prince Albert	17,787	59.1	5,426	18.0	6,496	21.6	366	1.2			30,075
Qu'Appelle–Moose Mountain	13,124	47.3	8,169	29.5	5,799	20.9	321	1.2	316	1.1	27,729
Regina East	15,030	36.9	12,538	30.8	12,651	31.0	301	0.7	239	0.6	40,759
Regina–Lake Centre	15,558	32.9	14,341	30.3	16,874	35.7	387	0.8	142	0.3	47,302
Saskatoon–Biggar	14,296	38.0	9,797	26.0	13,084	34.8	473	1.3			37,650
Saskatoon–Humboldt	11,592	24.6	23,243	49.2	11,826	25.1	548	1.2			47,209
Swift Current–Maple Creek	11,336	41.5	8,091	29.6	7,477	27.4	390	1.4			27,294
Yorkton–Melville	6,963	21.8	9,946	31.1	14,586	45.6	338	1.1	179	0.6	32,012
Province Totals	150,846	36.4	127,282	30.7	130,391	31.5	4,539	1.1	876	0.2	413,934
Rejected											1,334
Total Vote Cast											415,268

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (13)

Comm. = 334 2
Ind. = 316 1
M.-L. = 226 2

Table 11-17 Saskatchewan—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	12,365	36.6	9,955	29.5	11,183	33.1	292	0.9			33,795
Humboldt—Lake Centre	13,066	39.1	6,967	20.9	12,681	38.0	668	2.0			33,382
Kindersley—Lloydminster	16,614	49.3	6,809	20.2	10,254	30.4					33,677
Mackenzie	13,050	47.9	3,421	12.6	10,370	38.1	384	1.4			27,225
Moose Jaw	16,031	48.5	5,583	16.9	11,122	33.7	313	0.9			33,049
Prince Albert	16,438	49.0	5,158	15.4	11,979	35.7					33,575
Qu'Appelle—Moose Mountain	16,023	53.8	6,737	22.6	7,008	23.5					29,768
Regina East	12,972	31.6	12,645	30.8	15,022	36.6	344	0.8	116	0.3	41,099
Regina West	14,217	31.2	11,817	25.9	19,340	42.4	175	0.4	58	0.1	45,607
Saskatoon East	13,256	32.1	12,631	30.6	15,234	36.9	117	0.3	64	0.2	41,302
Saskatoon West	20,174	46.2	6,837	15.6	15,094	34.5	221	0.5	1,369	3.1	43,695
Swift Current—Maple Creek	15,213	52.3	5,171	17.8	8,720	30.0					29,104
The Battlefords—Meadow Lake	11,003	37.9	7,318	25.2	10,327	35.6			353	1.2	29,001
Yorkton—Melville	11,381	32.4	5,501	15.7	16,677	47.5			1,566	4.5	35,125
Province Totals	201,803	41.2	106,550	21.8	175,011	35.8	2,514	0.5	3,526	0.7	489,404
Rejected											1,328
Total Vote Cast											490,732

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)
Ind. = 3,212	3	Comm. = 65	1
M.-L. = 249	4		

Table 11-18 Saskatchewan—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	11,251	35.9	10,167	32.5	9,710	31.0	178	0.6			31,306
Humboldt—Lake Centre	11,591	36.4	6,981	21.9	13,243	41.6					31,815
Kindersley—Lloydminster	14,220	46.3	6,631	21.6	9,589	31.2			294	1.0	30,734
Mackenzie	10,794	41.6	4,548	17.5	10,435	40.2			165	0.6	25,942
Moose Jaw	14,330	46.4	5,713	18.5	10,641	34.5			188	0.6	30,872
Prince Albert	10,819	32.5	10,919	32.8	11,601	34.8					33,339
Qu'Appelle—Moose Mountain	13,676	49.6	6,042	21.9	7,872	28.5					27,590
Regina East	12,602	34.1	10,302	27.8	13,630	36.8			476	1.3	37,010
Regina West	13,374	32.5	10,190	24.8	17,353	42.2			206	0.5	41,123
Saskatoon East	12,373	32.9	11,483	30.5	12,985	34.5			791	2.1	37,632
Saskatoon West	17,636	43.3	8,116	19.9	14,852	36.5			97	0.2	40,701
Swift Current—Maple Creek	12,917	48.0	5,673	21.1	8,338	31.0					26,928
The Battlefords—Meadow Lake	9,343	34.1	8,088	29.5	9,819	35.8			178	0.6	27,428
Yorkton—Melville	12,450	37.3	5,664	17.0	15,240	45.7					33,354
Province Totals	177,376	38.9	110,517	24.2	165,308	36.3	178	.0	2,395	0.5	455,774
Rejected											1,465
Total Vote Cast											457,239

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)
None = 953	3	M.-L. = 276	4
Rhino = 596	2	Comm. = 204	2
Ind. = 302	2	Libert. = 64	1

Table 11-19 Saskatchewan—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Assiniboia	16,026	47.2	6,472	19.1	10,853	32.0			595	1.8	33,946
Humboldt-Lake Centre	13,166	38.0	6,005	17.3	15,087	43.5			429	1.2	34,687
Kindersley-Lloydminster	20,436	58.3	3,979	11.3	10,229	29.2			419	1.2	35,063
Mackenzie	11,403	40.0	4,961	17.4	10,848	38.1			1,269	4.5	28,481
Moose Jaw	15,803	46.0	4,762	13.9	13,338	38.8			446	1.3	34,349
Prince Albert	13,062	34.8	10,886	29.0	13,359	35.6			262	0.7	37,569
Qu'Appelle-Moose Mountain	14,470	49.8	4,898	16.9	8,414	29.0			1,257	4.3	29,039
Regina East	15,185	33.3	9,554	20.9	20,474	44.9			408	0.9	45,621
Regina West	16,066	31.5	10,405	20.4	23,865	46.8			635	1.2	50,971
Saskatoon East	17,087	36.9	11,901	25.7	16,670	36.0			627	1.4	46,285
Saskatoon West	26,012	49.7	6,355	12.1	18,910	36.1			1,091	2.1	52,368
Swift Current-Maple Creek	14,590	49.7	5,967	20.3	8,196	27.9			582	2.0	29,335
The Battlefords-Meadow Lake	12,895	43.3	4,002	13.4	12,559	42.2			319	1.1	29,775
Yorkton-Melville	11,800	33.4	4,996	14.1	18,116	51.3			400	1.1	35,312
Province Totals	218,001 ¹	41.7	95,143	31.2	200,918	65.9			8,739	2.9	304,800 ¹
Rejected											1,766
Total Vote Cast											524,567 ¹

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (14)	¹ Table 5 of the <i>Report of the Chief Electoral Officer</i> shows one less vote than is revealed by the analysis by riding from Part IV of the <i>Report</i> .
CRWP = 6,491	14	G.P. = 314	2	
Rhino = 1,148	3	Comm. = 75	1	
Ind. = 711	2			

Table 11-21 Saskatchewan Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1938-1986

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
June 8, 1938			52,366	11.9	38	73.1	200,370	45.5	10	19.2	82,568	18.8
June 15, 1944			42,511	10.7	5	9.6	140,901	35.4	47	90.4	211,364	53.3
June 24, 1948			37,986	7.6	19	36.5	152,400	30.6	31	59.6	236,900	47.7
June 11, 1952			10,648	2.0	11	20.8	211,882	39.3	42	79.2	291,705	54.4
June 29, 1956			10,921	2.0	14	26.4	167,427	30.3	36	67.9	249,634	45.5
June 8, 1960			94,737	13.9	17	31.5	221,932	32.7	37	68.5	276,846	40.7
April 4, 1964	1	1.7	126,028	18.9	32	55.2	269,402	40.4	25	43.1	268,742	40.7
October 11, 1967			41,583	9.8	35	59.3	193,871	45.6	24	40.7	188,653	44.4
June 23, 1971			9,659	2.1	15	25.0	193,864	42.8	45	75.0	248,978	55.4
June 11, 1975	7	11.5	124,573	27.6	15	24.6	142,853	31.7	39	63.9	180,700	40.7
October 18, 1978	17	27.9	181,045	38.1			65,498	13.8	44	72.1	228,791	48.8
April 26, 1982	55	85.9	289,311	54.1			24,134	4.5	9	14.1	201,390	37.7
October 20, 1986	38	59.4	244,382	44.6	1	1.6	54,739	10.0	25	39.1	247,683	45.5
Totals and Means	118	15.9		18.7	202	27.2		31.0	414	55.7		43.3

¹CCF through 1960. ²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others. ³One seat declared void.

Table 11-20 Saskatchewan—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Kindersley-Lloydminster	15,089	45.0	5,039	15.0	11,198	33.4			2,217	6.6	33,543
Mackenzie	12,649	36.9	4,988	14.6	15,931	46.5			689	2.0	34,257
Moose Jaw-Lake Centre	15,508	41.1	5,980	15.9	15,916	42.2			287	0.8	37,691
Prince Albert-Churchill River	8,234	25.9	5,007	15.8	17,915	56.4			599	1.9	31,755
Regina-Lumsden	9,934	26.5	5,840	15.6	21,593	57.6			139	0.4	37,506
Regina-Qu'Appelle	10,854	31.5	5,028	14.6	18,608	54.0					34,490
Regina-Wascana	15,339	34.0	14,804	32.8	14,829	32.9			141	0.3	45,113
Saskatoon-Clark's Crossing	14,689	35.8	6,494	15.8	19,669	47.9			225	0.5	41,077
Saskatoon-Dundurn	13,859	31.8	8,389	19.3	20,886	47.9			435	1.0	43,569
Saskatoon-Humboldt	14,793	36.1	8,442	20.6	17,703	43.2					40,938
Souris-Moose Mountain	17,200	46.8	6,965	19.0	11,916	32.4			642	1.7	36,723
Swift Current-Maple Creek-Assiniboia	15,968	44.1	7,958	22.0	11,827	32.7			468	1.3	36,221
The Battlefords-Meadow Lake	13,804	40.4	5,152	15.1	14,516	42.5			658	1.9	34,130
Yorkton-Melville	12,543	34.6	5,149	14.2	18,523	51.1					36,215
Province Totals	190,463	41.7	95,235	18.2	231,030	44.2			6,500	1.2	523,228
Rejected											1,465
Total Vote Cast											524,693

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (14)	Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (14)		
RP	=	3,861	4	Comm.	=	76	1
CRWP	=	2,083	6	Libert.	=	65	1
GP	=	225	2	Com'lth.	=	51	1
None	=	139	1				

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
2	3.8	69,720	15.8	2	3.8	35,249	8.0	52	440,273
		249	0.1			2,777	0.7	52	397,802
		40,268	8.1	2	3.8	30,513	6.1	52	498,067
		21,045	3.9			4,313	0.8	53	539,593
3	5.7	118,491	21.5			5,250	1.0	53	551,723
		83,895	12.4			1,797	0.3	54 ³	679,207
		2,621	0.4			68	0.0	58 ³	666,861
		1,296	0.3					59	425,403
						235	0.1	60	452,736
						2,897	0.6	61	451,023
						81	0	61	475,415
						20,250	3.8	64	535,085
						1,126	0.2	64	547,930
5	0.7		4.8	4	0.5		1.7	743	

This 50-year history of Alberta's elections can be summarized in a single sentence. Initially, it was the home of the right-wing Social Credit Party, briefly flirted with the Liberals, and is now utterly dominated in both federal as well as provincial elections by the Progressive Conservatives. Macpherson has described the situation as a "quasi-party system,"¹ a point of view for which there is some disagreement.²

Table 2-1 revealed that, in 1935, the new Social Credit Party received 17 of 245 seats—a remarkable performance for a party making its first national appearance. The overwhelming bulk of these, 15, came from Alberta. Organized as a political party in that province in 1932,³ Social Credit received more than 54 percent of the provincial vote in August 1935 and almost 47 percent of the federal vote in Alberta in 1935, levels it was never to reach again. In its first electoral test, the 1935 provincial elections, the Socreds took 56 of the 63 seats available, a remarkable performance for any party, major or minor. We return to the provincial results after more detailed examination of the federal election returns.

Following its initial success in 1935, Social Credit was able to win a majority of Alberta's seats in Commons through the first 6 elections (i.e., through 1957) of this period, won none in 1958, and gained only 2 seats in the 1962, 1963, and 1965 elections. From this last success their proportion of the total vote declined to less than 1 percent.

Simultaneously, the Progressive Conservatives started with only one seat in 1935, lost it in 1940, won no more than 3 seats in each of the 4 elections starting with 1945, and then had a spectacular showing in the 1958 election, winning all 17 seats. In 1968 the Liberals were

able to capture 4 seats but have been blanked since then. In the 5 elections starting with 1972, the Tories won 126 of the 127 seats, the one loss being to the NDP in 1988. Even allowing for their poor initial showing in 1935, the Progressive Conservatives have won two-thirds of all of Alberta's seats in Commons.

This has been taking place with increasingly wide margins, as most of the contests since 1972 have been won by 25 percent or more. Hence, Alberta has gone from a position in which Social Credit could win a majority of seats, albeit by relatively smaller margins, to one of overwhelming dominance by the Progressive Conservatives. Following its initial success in 1958, in which it received almost 60 percent of the popular vote, the party slipped in 1962 to less than 43 percent (while still winning 14 of the 17 seats) and steadily increased its share of the popular vote in almost every election.

It should be pointed out that the modest showings by the Liberals have not come about because of an absence of organization insofar as ballot appearances are concerned. They have challenged for every seat since 1935, a record which is not matched by any other party. Nonetheless, these efforts have met with scant electoral success, as they run a poor third behind Social Credit in terms of number of seats won. Since 1968 their high-water mark in terms of absolute numbers as well as proportion of votes, the Liberals have slipped virtually every year. Indeed, in 1984 and 1988 they fell to third place in votes received to the NDP, which finally won its first seat in Alberta in 1988.⁴ It should be pointed out that, although the NDP has not shown any major attraction to the Alberta electorate, this is not for want of trying. Since 1962

it has run candidates in every Alberta riding, although it has yet to match its high-water mark of more than 18 percent of the vote in 1945, running under its earlier appellation as the CCF.

In provincial elections we see a 36-year dominance of the Legislative Assembly by Social Credit from 1935 to 1971, when the Progressive Conservatives first captured Alberta's government. While the latter have not been as dominant in the provincial as federal elections, their successes have been closely parallel, if somewhat longer in coming about. Recall that in 1958 the Tories jumped from 3 to 17 seats in the federal election. Similarly, having won only 6 out of 63 seats in the 1967 provincial election, they jumped to 49 out of 75 in 1971, establishing and holding a firm majority ever since. Only in

1986 after Premier Peter Lougheed had earlier stepped down did the Tories have a setback of any sort, dropping from 75 to 61 seats, while the NDP jumped from 2 to 16.⁵ In each case, that of Social Credit and Progressive Conservatives, the winning party has profited by an unusually large maldistribution of seats as compared to actual votes received.

Notes

- 1. C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System* (2d ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 237ff.
- 2. See, for instance, Seymour Martin Lipset, "Democracy in Alberta," *Canadian Forum* 34 (November 1954), 175-77.

Table 12-1 Alberta—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935-1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	1	5.9	40,236	16.9	1	5.9	50,539	21.2			30,921	13
1940			35,116	13.0	7	41.2	102,060	37.9			35,082	13
1945	2	11.8	58,077	18.7	2	11.8	67,662	21.8			57,077	18
1949	2	11.8	56,947	16.8	5	29.4	116,647	34.5			31,329	9
1953	2	11.8	49,450	14.5	4	23.5	118,941	35.0			23,573	6
1957	3	17.6	118,225	27.6	1	5.9	119,190	27.9			27,127	6
1958	17	100.0	269,689	59.9			61,583	13.7			19,666	4
1962	15	88.2	214,699	42.8			97,322	19.4			42,305	8
1963	14	82.4	249,067	45.3	1	5.9	121,473	22.1			35,775	6
1965	15	88.2	247,734	46.6			119,014	22.4			43,818	8
1968	15	78.9	283,987	50.4	4	21.1	201,045	35.7			52,720	9
1972	19	100.0	409,857	57.6			177,599	25.0			89,811	12
1974	19	100.0	417,422	61.2			168,973	24.8			63,310	6
1979	21	100.0	559,588	65.6			188,295	22.1			84,236	9
1980	21	100.0	516,079	64.9			176,601	22.2			81,755	10
1984	21	100.0	701,344	68.8			129,945	12.7			143,588	14
1988	25	96.2	601,639	51.8			159,418	13.7	1	3.8	202,093	17
Totals and Means	212	67.1		42.5	25	7.9		24.9	1	0.3		10

¹CCF through 1958.
²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

3. See, among others, John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), and Harvey Rich, "One-Party Dominance in Alberta, Canada," *Political Science* 31 (December 1979), 117–24.
4. On the problems of the Liberal Party in the west, see David E. Smith, *The Regional Decline of a National Party: Liberals on the Prairies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).
5. On the general subject of Alberta's provincial politics, see Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), pp. 444–502. An older but still useful contribution is J. Anthony Long and F. Q. Quo, "Alberta: Politics of Consensus," in Martin A. Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces* 2d ed.; Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 1–27. For an insight regarding the personalistic basis of the Alberta Tory organization, see Robert Mason Lee, "Glory Days," *Saturday Night* 101 (February 1986), 13–24.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
umber	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
15	88.2	111,627	46.8			5,190	2.2	17	238,513
10	58.8	93,023	34.5			4,062	1.5	17	269,343
13	76.5	113,821	36.6			14,136	4.5	17	310,773
10	58.8	126,409	37.4			6,799	2.0	17	338,131
11	64.7	138,847	40.8			9,430	2.8	17	340,241
13	76.5	161,697	37.8			1,413	0.3	17	427,652
		97,141	21.6			1,810	0.4	17	449,889
2	11.8	146,662	29.2			997	0.2	17	501,985
2	11.8	141,956	25.8			1,255	0.2	17	549,526
2	11.8	119,586	22.5			1,275	0.2	17	531,427
						26,083	4.6	19	563,835
		31,689	4.5			1,996	0.3	19	710,952
		22,909	3.4			9,955	1.5	19	682,569
		8,164	1.0			12,894	1.5	21	853,177
		8,158	1.0			12,852	1.6	21	795,445
		5,965	0.6			38,697	3.8	21	1,019,539
						199,334	17.1	26	1,162,484
78	24.7		20.2				1.6	316	

Table 12-2 Alberta—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935	17	14	1		4	17	1		2	15				18		15		6		9		70	15
1940	17	10			1	17	1	6		15				17	10		5	3				62	6
1945	17	16		2		17	2		5	17				17	10	3		13				80	5
1949	17	14	2			17	2	3		13				17	10		3	4				65	3
1953 ¹	17	12	2			17	3		2	13				17	9	2		12				71	2
1957	17	17	2	1		17	1		3	15				17	11	2		3				69	3
1958	17	17	3	14		17			1	15				17			13	4				70	14
1962	17	17	15		2	17				17				17		2		3				71	2
1963	17	17	14		1	17		1		17				17	2			4				72	1
1965	17	17	14	1		17			1	17				17	2			3				71	1
1968 ²	19	19	9	1	2	19		3		19				3			2	6				66	4
1972	19	19	15	4		19			4	19				19				2				78	4
1974	19	19	19			19				19				17				16				90	
1979 ¹	21	21	16			21				21				9				23				95	
1980	21	21	21			21				21				15				30				108	
1984	21	21	21			21				21				15				45				123	
1988 ²	26	26	12		1	26				26	1							87				164	1
Totals	316	297	166	23	11	316	10	13	18	300	1			249	54	24	23	264		9		1,425	61

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 16 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

²Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 13 seats which are comparable to the previous election.

Table 12-3 Alberta—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935	1	2	2	3	2	7	17
1940	5	6	4			2	17
1945	1	3	4	4	2	3	17
1949	4	1	2	5	4	1	17
1953	4	4	3	1	4	1	17
1957	3	2	3	3	5	1	17
1958		1		1	2	13	17
1962	2	4	3	5	2	1	17
1963	3	4	1	3	1	5	17
1965	1	3	2	1	4	6	17
1968	4	5	2		1	7	19
1972			1	2	3	13	19
1974				2	4	13	19
1979					1	20	21
1980			1			20	21
1984					1	20	21
1988	1	3	2	1	3	16	26
Totals	29	38	30	31	39	149	316
Means	9.2	12.0	9.5	9.8	12.3	47.2	

Table 12-4 Alberta—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia	1,024	9.8	1,444	13.8	1,859	17.7	6,166	58.8			10,493
Athabaska	1,269	12.2	3,007	28.8			5,424	52.0	733	7.0	10,433
Battle river	1,614	12.0	1,812	13.5	3,015	22.4	7,029	52.2			13,470
Bow River	3,091	21.8	1,242	8.8	2,315	16.3	7,529	53.1			14,177
Calgary East	6,009	33.4	2,576	14.3	1,020	5.7	8,376	46.6			17,981
Calgary West	9,172	50.4	2,130	11.7	686	3.8	5,817	31.9	411	2.3	18,216
Camrose			2,438	18.4	2,051	15.5	8,776	66.2			13,265
Edmonton East	2,827	17.4	4,889	30.2	1,726	10.6	6,099	37.6	671	4.1	16,212
Edmonton West	4,781	26.7	6,471	36.1	1,967	11.0	3,768	21.0	949	5.3	17,936
Jasper-Edson			5,405	36.8	2,067	14.1	7,208	49.1			14,680
Lethbridge	2,990	23.4	2,109	16.5	737	5.8	6,516	51.0	425	3.3	12,777
Macleod	2,100	14.5	1,761	12.2	3,577	24.7	7,028	48.6			14,466
Medicine Hat	1,971	15.2	4,229	32.7			6,752	52.1			12,952
Peace River	869	7.5	3,546	30.6	1,646	14.2	5,513	47.6			11,574
Red Deer	1,648	12.4	1,861	14.0	1,855	14.0	7,901	59.6			13,265
Vegreville	871	6.5	2,818	21.0	3,628	27.0	4,124	30.7	2,001	14.9	13,442
Wetaskiwin			2,801	21.3	2,772	21.0	7,601	57.7			13,174
Province Totals	40,236	16.9	50,539	21.2	30,921	13.0	111,627	46.8	5,190	2.2	238,513
Rejected											2,594
Total Vote Cast											241,107

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)

Comm.	=	2,672	2
Reconstr.	=	1,785 ¹	3
Tech.	=	733	1

¹Details of the Reconstruction vote can be found in Scarrow (1962).

Table 12-5 Alberta—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia			3,740	45.0	802	9.7	3,767	45.3			8,309
Athabaska			5,961	46.5	2,052	16.0	4,817	37.5			12,830
Battle River			3,808	31.1	3,401	27.8	5,045	41.2			12,254
Bow River	3,248	20.6	4,050	25.7	2,197	13.9	5,410	34.3	847	5.4	15,752
Calgary East	4,987	23.6	5,815	27.5	4,986	23.6	5,330	25.2			21,118
Calgary West	6,896	34.8	7,299	36.9	1,444	7.3	4,159	21.0			19,798
Camrose			4,443	34.5	2,065	16.0	6,359	49.4			12,867
Edmonton East	2,302	11.2	8,948	43.7	1,962	9.6	7,279	35.5			20,491
Edmonton West	4,054	18.7	12,350	56.9	1,616	7.4	3,695	17.0			21,715
Jasper-Edson	1,835	11.1	6,283	37.9	2,102	12.7	6,363	38.4			16,583
Lethbridge	3,605	23.3	5,538	35.7			6,362	41.0			15,505
Macleod	3,039	18.2	4,829	28.9	2,180	13.1	6,655	39.8			16,703
Medicine Hat			9,439	63.1			5,524	36.9			14,963
Peace River			6,426	41.3	3,307	21.2	5,347	34.3	488	3.1	15,568
Red Deer	2,694	17.7	4,134	27.2	2,771	18.3	5,583	36.8			15,182
Vegreville			4,605	32.7	1,658	11.8	5,083	36.1	2,727	19.4	14,073
Wetaskiwin	2,456	15.7	4,392	28.1	2,539	16.2	6,245	40.0			15,632
Province Totals	35,116	13.0	102,060	37.9	35,082	13.0	93,023	34.5	4,062	1.5	269,343
Rejected											3,075
Total Vote Cast											272,418

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)

Un. Prog.	=	2,727	1
Comm.	=	847	1
Ind.	=	488	1

Table 12-6 Alberta—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia	1,211	11.3	2,035	19.0	1,903	17.8	5,556	51.9			10,705
Athabaska	1,375	9.3	5,301	35.8	1,756	11.8	4,823	32.5	1,564	10.6	14,819
Battle River	1,661	12.8	1,722	13.2	2,604	20.0	6,250	48.0	790	6.1	13,027
Bow River	3,917	22.9	2,091	12.2	3,386	19.8	6,569	38.4	1,149	6.7	17,112
Calgary East	7,799	31.5	4,771	19.3	5,646	22.8	5,854	23.7	672	2.7	24,742
Calgary West	8,872	38.4	5,011	21.7	3,641	15.8	4,766	20.6	791	3.4	23,081
Camrose	1,880	12.0	2,501	16.0	4,045	25.9	7,194	46.1			15,620
Edmonton East	4,115	16.7	5,313	21.5	5,833	23.6	8,214	33.3	1,223	5.0	24,698
Edmonton West	6,002	23.3	8,562	33.2	4,112	16.0	6,565	25.5	524	2.0	25,765
Jasper-Edson	1,902	9.7	4,663	23.8	4,829	24.7	7,313	37.3	876	4.5	19,583
Lethbridge	2,985	17.9	3,820	22.9	2,165	13.0	7,250	43.5	439	2.6	16,659
Macleod	3,924	23.0	2,620	15.4	2,569	15.1	6,342	37.2	1,613	9.5	17,068
Medicine Hat	2,647	16.2	4,631	28.4	2,301	14.1	6,752	41.3			16,331
Peace River	2,732	15.3	4,109	23.1	3,666	20.6	7,319	41.1			17,826

Table 12-6 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Red Deer	3,636	19.5	2,666	14.3	2,984	16.0	8,653	46.5	677	3.6	18,616
Vegreville			4,806	28.5	1,668	9.9	7,146	42.3	3,272	19.4	16,892
Wetaskiwin	3,419	18.8	3,040	16.7	3,969	21.8	7,255	39.8	546	3.0	18,229
Province Totals	58,077	18.7	67,662	21.8	57,077	18.4	113,821	36.6	14,136	4.5	310,773
Rejected											5,090
Total Vote Cast											315,863

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)
Lab. Prog. = 14,136 14

Table 12-7 Alberta—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia			4,186	41.5			5,897	58.5			10,083
Athabaska	1,139	6.9	7,566	45.5	1,738	10.5	4,982	30.0	1,198	7.2	16,623
Battle River			4,337	30.9	1,977	14.1	7,708	55.0			14,022
Bow River	2,558	14.2	4,449	24.7	1,530	8.5	8,537	47.3	969	5.4	18,043
Calgary East	9,641	35.9	8,555	31.8	3,083	11.5	5,597	20.8			26,876
Calgary West	11,457	42.7	8,619	32.1			6,785	25.3			26,861
Camrose	1,448	9.2	4,497	28.6	2,402	15.3	7,364	46.9			15,711
Edmonton East	3,816	12.6	10,964	36.1	2,961	9.8	7,972	26.3	4,632	15.3	30,345
Edmonton West	8,325	26.7	14,333	46.0	2,285	7.3	6,215	19.9			31,158
Jasper-Edson	2,053	10.3	7,288	36.5	3,839	19.2	6,797	34.0			19,977
Lethbridge	2,460	13.0	5,760	30.5	1,801	9.5	8,880	47.0			18,901
Macleod	3,314	20.2	4,066	24.7	1,647	10.0	7,411	45.1			16,438
Medicine Hat	2,346	12.7	6,069	32.8			10,086	54.5			18,501
Peace River	1,562	7.9	7,404	37.2	3,202	16.1	7,727	38.8			19,895
Red Deer	3,488	18.0	3,604	18.6	1,710	8.8	10,549	54.5			19,351
Vegreville			8,859	55.4			7,128	44.6			15,987
Wetaskiwin	3,340	17.3	6,091	31.5	3,154	16.3	6,774	35.0			19,359
Province Totals	56,947	16.8	116,647	34.5	31,329	9.3	126,409	37.4	6,799	2.0	338,131
Rejected											3,091
Total Vote Cast											341,222

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)
Ind. SC = 4,598 2
Lab. Prog. = 2,201 2

Table 12–8 Alberta—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia			7,503	43.3	1,856	10.7	7,956	45.9			17,315
Athabaska			7,293	47.4	990	6.4	5,945	38.6	1,168	7.6	15,396
Battle River–Camrose	1,784	9.8	4,531	24.8	2,261	12.4	9,238	50.6	426	2.3	18,240
Bow River	2,698	17.5	4,698	30.5			7,320	47.6	671	4.4	15,387
Calgary North	11,002	37.3	8,191	27.8	1,578	5.4	8,293	28.1	426	1.4	29,490
Calgary South	12,491	41.8	8,689	29.1	1,501	5.0	6,829	22.9	339	1.1	29,849
Edmonton East	2,651	12.2	7,574	34.8	1,805	8.3	8,802	40.5	912	4.2	21,744
Edmonton–Strathcona	4,012	16.8	8,901	37.3	2,182	9.2	8,750	36.7			23,845
Edmonton East	4,851	18.5	11,301	43.0	1,977	7.5	7,776	29.6	362	1.4	26,267
Jasper–Edson			6,938	36.9	3,242	17.2	7,639	40.6	987	5.2	18,806
Lethbridge	1,783	10.4	5,676	33.0			9,737	56.6			17,196
Macleod	3,625	20.2	4,298	23.9	721	4.0	8,685	48.4	620	3.5	17,949
Medicine Hat	1,161	6.0	8,919	46.0			9,305	48.0			19,385
Peace River			7,599	36.7	2,079	10.0	10,151	49.0	867	4.2	20,696
Red Deer	1,474	8.8	5,076	30.2	1,136	6.8	8,792	52.4	306	1.8	16,784
Vegreville			8,023	47.0			6,709	39.3	2,346	13.7	17,078
Wetaskiwin	1,918	12.9	3,731	25.2	2,245	15.2	6,920	46.7			14,814
Province Totals	49,450	14.5	118,941	35.0	23,573	6.9	138,847	40.8	9,430	2.8	340,241
Rejected											3,017
Total Vote Cast											343,258

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)
Lab. Prog. = 9,155 12
Ind. = 275 1

Table 12–9 Alberta—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia	1,852	9.5	5,825	29.8	1,520	7.8	10,348	52.9			19,545
Athabaska	2,116	11.8	7,453	41.5	1,381	7.7	7,029	39.1			17,979
Battle River–Camrose	3,808	17.0	5,523	24.6	2,180	9.7	10,945	48.7			22,456
Bow River	7,039	37.2	4,493	23.8			7,383	39.0			18,915
Calgary North	21,783	54.7	6,429	16.1	1,545	3.9	10,066	25.3			39,823
Calgary South	21,065	53.4	11,599	29.4	1,033	2.6	5,738	14.6			39,435
Edmonton East	3,927	14.3	10,683	39.0	1,797	6.6	10,967	40.1			27,374
Edmonton–Strathcona	10,525	28.6	10,731	29.1	2,434	6.6	13,124	35.6			36,814
Edmonton West	14,173	34.7	12,606	30.9	2,249	5.5	11,814	28.9			40,842
Jasper–Edson	4,391	20.1	6,296	28.9	2,322	10.6	8,795	40.3			21,804
Lethbridge	3,041	14.8	6,627	32.2			10,910	53.0			20,578
Macleod	5,073	26.3	4,774	24.8	1,001	5.2	8,411	43.7			19,259
Medicine Hat	2,391	10.2	8,390	35.9	1,262	5.4	10,960	46.9	386	1.7	23,389
Peace River	5,896	24.8	5,515	23.2	1,783	7.5	10,393	43.7	212	0.9	23,799
Red Deer	5,918	29.6	3,471	17.4	1,073	5.4	9,519	47.6			19,981

Table 12-9 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Vegreville	1,780	9.8	5,048	27.7	3,246	17.8	7,327	40.2	815	4.5	18,216
Wetaskiwin	3,447	19.8	3,727	21.4	2,301	13.2	7,968	45.7			17,443
Province Totals	118,225	27.6	119,190	27.9	27,127	6.3	161,697	37.8	1,413	0.3	427,652
Rejected											3,582
Total Vote Cast											431,234
Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)											
Lab. Prog.	=	815									1
Ind. SC	=	386									1
Ind.	=	212									1

Table 12-10 Alberta—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia	9,669	50.4	2,995	15.6	942	4.9	5,597	29.1			19,203
Athabaska	9,751	51.7	4,473	23.7	820	4.4	3,806	20.2			18,850
Battle River—Camrose	13,049	57.4	2,216	9.7	1,340	5.9	6,137	27.0			22,742
Bow River	12,695	63.1	1,772	8.8			5,646	28.1			20,113
Calgary North	30,930	72.0	4,555	10.6	2,018	4.7	5,484	12.8			42,987
Calgary South	29,482	70.5	7,039	16.8	1,416	3.4	3,884	9.3			41,821
Edmonton East	15,236	54.3	4,413	15.7	1,220	4.4	6,441	23.0	726	2.6	28,036
Edmonton—Strathcona	25,885	61.3	7,218	17.1	1,838	4.4	7,270	17.2			42,211
Edmonton West	30,937	66.7	8,544	18.4	2,023	4.4	4,893	10.5			46,397
Jasper—Edson	12,522	57.3	3,683	16.9	1,396	6.4	4,240	19.4			21,841
Lethbridge	13,364	58.3	2,714	11.8			6,471	28.2	361	1.6	22,910
Macleod	11,911	59.0	1,907	9.5	736	3.6	5,623	27.9			20,177
Medicine Hat	10,886	46.3	2,572	10.9	907	3.9	9,151	38.9			23,516
Peace River	13,328	58.8	2,535	11.2	1,064	4.7	5,737	25.3			22,664
Red Deer	11,569	54.5	1,537	7.2	1,029	4.8	7,087	33.4			21,222
Vegreville	7,918	46.5	1,706	10.0	1,326	7.8	5,360	31.5	723	4.2	17,033
Wetaskiwin	10,557	58.1	1,704	9.4	1,591	8.8	4,314	23.7			18,166
Province Totals	269,689	59.9	61,583	13.7	19,666	4.4	97,141	21.6	1,810	0.4	449,889
Rejected											3,088
Total Vote Cast											452,977
Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)											
Lab. Prog.	=	1,196									2
Ind. SC	=	361									1
Ind. PC	=	253									1

Table 12–11 Alberta—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia	8,440	42.9	2,150	10.9	1,021	5.2	7,565	38.4	500	2.5	19,676
Athabasca	9,678	45.6	5,554	26.2	1,306	6.2	4,679	22.1			21,217
Battle River—Camrose	12,883	53.4	2,976	12.3	1,488	6.2	6,758	28.0			24,105
Bow River	10,733	46.4	3,944	17.0	1,629	7.0	6,844	29.6			23,150
Calgary North	22,446	44.5	9,919	19.7	4,910	9.7	13,143	26.1			50,418
Calgary South	21,927	46.4	12,837	27.2	3,654	7.7	8,806	18.6			47,224
Edmonton East	9,291	33.5	6,771	24.4	4,023	14.5	7,657	27.6			27,742
Edmonton—Strathcona	16,030	34.4	11,996	25.7	5,001	10.7	13,585	29.1			46,612
Edmonton West	19,681	36.0	16,749	30.7	5,402	9.9	12,780	23.4			54,612
Jasper—Edson	12,371	48.5	4,122	16.2	2,132	8.4	6,896	27.0			25,521
Lethbridge	11,105	44.1	3,595	14.3	1,806	7.2	8,693	34.5			25,199
Macleod	9,605	45.8	3,133	15.0	1,245	5.9	6,970	33.3			20,953
Medicine Hat	9,355	37.1	3,942	15.6	1,499	5.9	10,453	41.4			25,249
Peace River	12,897	48.2	3,671	13.7	2,605	9.7	7,603	28.4			26,776
Red Deer	9,343	37.7	1,608	6.5	1,181	4.8	12,645	51.0			24,777
Vegreville	9,710	52.5	1,432	7.7	1,688	9.1	5,159	27.9	497	2.7	18,486
Wetaskiwin	9,204	45.4	2,923	14.4	1,715	8.5	6,426	31.7			20,268
Province Totals	214,699	42.8	97,322	19.4	42,305	8.4	146,662	29.2	997	0.2	501,985
Rejected											3,767
Total Vote Cast											505,752

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)

Ind.	=	497	1
Ind. Lib.	=	311	1
ACP	=	189	1

Table 12–12 Alberta—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia	10,616	51.9	1,995	9.7	840	4.1	7,018	34.3			20,469
Athabasca	12,074	54.5	5,416	24.5	1,045	4.7	3,601	16.3			22,136
Battle River—Camrose	15,565	60.8	2,752	10.8	1,283	5.0	5,984	23.4			25,584
Bow River	11,461	45.9	4,589	18.4	1,481	5.9	7,460	29.9			24,991
Calgary North	21,966	38.7	14,653	25.8	4,792	8.4	15,386	27.1			56,797
Calgary South	19,760	36.7	21,619	40.1	3,760	7.0	8,753	16.2			53,892
Edmonton East	13,582	41.7	7,950	24.4	3,645	11.2	7,057	21.7	340	1.0	32,574
Edmonton—Strathcona	18,880	35.4	16,195	30.3	4,464	8.4	13,841	25.9			53,380
Edmonton West	26,578	42.3	20,720	33.0	4,091	6.5	11,466	18.2			62,855
Jasper—Edson	14,776	56.2	4,833	18.4	1,457	5.5	5,238	19.9			26,304
Lethbridge	11,475	43.3	4,284	16.2	1,277	4.8	9,271	35.0	193	0.7	26,500
Macleod	9,785	45.3	2,866	13.3	1,143	5.3	7,795	36.1			21,589
Medicine Hat	10,829	40.2	3,734	13.9	1,271	4.7	11,080	41.2			26,914

Table 12-12 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Peace River	16,111	58.6	3,059	11.1	1,760	6.4	6,564	23.9			27,494
Red Deer	11,149	41.1	2,702	10.0	1,082	4.0	12,182	44.9			27,115
Vegreville	12,859	67.4	1,579	8.3	1,132	5.9	2,777	14.6	722	3.8	19,069
Wetaskiwin	11,601	53.1	2,527	11.6	1,252	5.7	6,483	29.7			21,863
Province Totals	249,067	45.3	121,473	22.1	35,775	6.5	141,956	25.8	1,255	0.2	549,526
Rejected											2,638
Total Vote Cast											552,164

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)

Comm. = 795 2
Ind. = 460 2

Table 12-13 Alberta—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Acadia	10,813	57.2	1,786	9.5	911	4.8	5,384	28.5			18,894
Athabasca	11,652	54.1	6,692	31.0	1,016	4.7	2,197	10.2			21,557
Battle River—Camrose	14,015	57.9	2,927	12.1	1,745	7.2	5,531	22.8			24,218
Bow River	12,611	53.1	3,615	15.2	1,836	7.7	5,671	23.9			23,733
Calgary North	23,810	43.3	16,029	29.1	5,412	9.8	9,742	17.7			54,993
Calgary South	20,640	39.1	20,525	38.9	3,678	7.0	7,970	15.1			52,813
Edmonton East	13,596	45.0	6,228	20.6	3,222	10.7	6,752	22.4	385	1.3	30,183
Edmonton—Strathcona	21,004	38.1	16,431	29.8	5,572	10.1	11,696	21.2	493	0.9	55,196
Edmonton West	30,548	49.2	18,402	29.7	4,389	7.1	8,704	14.0			62,043
Jasper—Edson	14,909	58.8	4,617	18.2	2,354	9.3	3,477	13.7			25,357
Lethbridge	10,147	41.0	4,882	19.7	1,673	6.8	8,032	32.5			24,734
Macleod	8,706	44.3	3,142	16.0	1,307	6.7	6,487	33.0			19,642
Medicine Hat	6,958	27.6	3,835	15.2	1,420	5.6	12,997	51.6			25,210
Peace River	14,960	54.1	3,578	12.9	4,411	16.0	4,700	17.0			27,649
Red Deer	10,448	39.8	2,093	8.0	1,340	5.1	12,383	47.1			26,264
Vegreville	12,163	69.8	2,151	12.3	925	5.3	1,798	10.3	397	2.3	17,434
Wetaskiwin	10,754	50.0	2,081	9.7	2,607	12.1	6,065	28.2			21,507
Province Totals	247,734	46.6	119,014	22.4	43,818	8.2	119,586	22.5	1,275	0.2	531,427
Rejected											3,443
Total Vote Cast											534,870

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (17)

Comm. = 782 2
Ind. = 493 1

Table 12-14 Alberta—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Athabasca	8,852	47.1	7,626	40.6	2,315	12.3					18,793
Battle River	15,725	64.4	4,124	16.9	1,827	7.5	2,756	11.3			24,432
Calgary Centre	16,977	47.1	16,676	46.2	2,413	6.7					36,066
Calgary North	21,708	49.9	18,185	41.8	3,648	8.4					43,541
Calgary South	19,716	45.9	20,472	47.6	2,798	6.5					42,986
Crowfoot	16,508	73.4	4,783	21.3	1,185	5.3					22,476
Edmonton Centre	12,062	34.6	11,811	33.9	3,054	8.8			7,912	22.7	34,839
Edmonton East	15,764	46.1	12,739	37.2	5,292	15.5			410	1.2	34,205
Edmonton—Strathcona	15,228	37.8	21,074	52.4	2,745	6.8			1,206	3.0	40,253
Edmonton West	19,612	49.4	17,306	43.6	2,793	7.0					39,711
Lethbridge	11,901	44.9	8,193	30.9	2,442	9.2	3,941	14.9			26,477
Medicine Hat	8,809	36.0	9,015	36.9	2,401	9.8	4,237	17.3			24,462
Palliser	16,967	60.3	9,147	32.5	2,014	7.2					28,128
Peace River	11,825	55.6	4,620	21.7	4,830	22.7					21,275
Pembina	17,578	58.8	9,342	31.3	2,963	9.9					29,883
Red Deer	17,930	62.2	8,541	29.6	2,349	8.2					28,820
Rocky Mountain	5,792	29.7	7,355	37.7	2,093	10.7			4,272	21.9	19,512
Vegreville	15,855	64.6	5,066	20.6	2,277	9.3			1,349	5.5	24,547
Wetaskiwin	15,178	64.8	4,970	21.2	3,281	14.0					23,429
Province Totals	283,987	50.4	201,045	35.7	52,720	9.4	10,934	1.9	15,149	2.7	563,835
Rejected											3,581
Total Vote Cast											567,416

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (19)

Ind. Lib.	=	8,599	2
Cons.	=	3,585	1
Ind PC	=	1,349	1
Ind	=	1,206	1
Comm.	=	410	1

Table 12-15 Alberta—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Athabasca	12,936	60.2	4,871	22.7	2,677	12.5	989	4.6	*		21,473
Battle River	16,268	63.6	3,277	12.8	3,427	13.4	2,613	10.2			25,585
Calgary Centre	22,669	53.3	13,110	30.8	5,538	13.0	1,081	2.5	133	0.3	42,531
Calgary North	30,973	59.2	12,647	24.2	6,630	12.7	1,851	3.5	192	0.4	52,293
Calgary South	34,925	58.1	18,437	30.7	5,386	9.0	1,233	2.1	110	0.2	60,091
Crowfoot	18,667	75.5	2,591	10.5	1,686	6.8	1,768	7.2			24,712
Edmonton Centre	21,443	53.6	11,165	27.9	6,166	15.4	1,006	2.5	240	0.6	40,020
Edmonton East	21,137	51.6	11,997	29.3	6,493	15.8	1,139	2.8	217	0.5	40,983
Edmonton—Strathcona	26,908	49.7	16,625	30.7	9,098	16.8	1,272	2.4	215	0.4	54,118
Edmonton West	29,876	50.5	21,040	35.6	6,770	11.5	1,419	2.4			59,105
Lethbridge	18,845	57.8	7,601	23.3	3,941	12.1	2,219	6.8			32,606
Medicine Hat	15,027	53.7	9,403	33.6	2,033	7.3	1,519	5.4			27,982

Table 12-15 (Continued)

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Palliser	29,284	64.1	8,854	19.4	5,000	10.9	2,563	5.6			45,701
Peace River	14,255	56.1	3,324	13.1	5,678	22.3	1,904	7.5	260	1.0	25,421
Pembina	23,864	56.1	9,879	24.1	5,710	13.9	1,184	2.9	421	1.0	41,058
Red Deer	20,943	61.3	5,762	16.9	3,852	11.3	3,631	10.6			34,188
Rocky Mountain	12,984	51.6	7,973	31.7	3,112	12.4	1,080	4.3			25,149
Vegreville	19,500	72.9	3,747	14.0	2,639	9.9	642	2.4	208	0.8	26,736
Wetaskiwin	19,353	62.0	5,296	17.0	3,975	12.7	2,576	8.3			31,200
Province Totals	409,857	57.6	177,599	25.0	89,811	12.6	31,689	4.5	1,996	0.3	710,952
Rejected											11,386
Total Vote Cast											722,338

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (19)
None = 1,694	7
Ind. = 302	2

Table 12-16 Alberta—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Athabasca	13,157	63.3	5,243	25.2	2,372	11.4					20,772
Battle River	16,819	68.1	3,674	14.9	2,157	8.7	2,058	8.3			24,708
Calgary Centre	23,810	63.2	9,912	26.3	3,072	8.1	646	1.7	261	0.7	37,701
Calgary North	30,175	64.7	10,773	23.1	4,332	9.3	1,358	2.9			46,638
Calgary South	41,530	68.2	14,116	23.2	3,558	5.8	1,120	1.8	607	1.0	60,931
Crowfoot	18,048	75.5	3,477	14.5	1,071	4.5	1,307	5.5			23,903
Edmonton Centre	18,165	54.3	10,501	31.4	3,717	11.1	766	2.3	309	0.9	33,458
Edmonton East	18,321	51.9	11,122	31.5	4,413	12.5	1,119	3.2	353	1.0	35,328
Edmonton-Strathcona	25,808	54.7	14,337	30.4	5,426	11.5	1,146	2.4	437	0.9	47,154
Edmonton West	29,990	52.3	21,094	36.8	4,605	8.0	1,270	2.2	370	0.6	57,329
Lethbridge	20,602	63.5	7,075	21.8	3,329	10.3	1,428	4.4			32,434
Medicine Hat	15,525	54.9	9,273	32.8	1,961	6.9	1,538	5.4			28,297
Palliser	34,185	68.9	10,125	20.4	3,708	7.5	1,590	3.2			49,608
Peace River	14,153	60.6	5,068	21.7	3,941	16.9			196	0.8	23,358
Pembina	19,172	43.5	12,196	27.7	4,266	9.7	973	2.2	7,422	16.9	44,029
Red Deer	22,251	66.7	5,645	16.9	2,791	8.4	2,670	8.0			33,357
Rocky Mountain	16,042	61.1	6,236	23.7	2,750	10.5	1,230	4.7			26,258
Vegreville	18,328	72.2	3,461	13.6	2,935	11.6	671	2.6			25,395
Wetaskiwin	21,341	66.9	5,645	17.7	2,906	9.1	2,019	6.3			31,911
Province Totals	417,422	61.2	168,973	24.8	63,310	9.3	22,909	3.4	9,955	0.5	682,569
Rejected											2,080
Total Vote Cast											684,649

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (19)	Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (19)
None = 7,148	1	Comm. = 745	4
Ind. = 1,524	6	M.-L. = 538	6

Table 12–17 Alberta—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Athabasca	15,978	58.7	7,843	28.8	2,770	10.2	645	2.4			27,236
Bow River	25,973	63.1	4,633	11.2	2,200	5.3			8,378	20.3	41,184
Calgary Centre	22,124	59.1	10,555	28.2	4,095	10.9	522	1.4	141	0.4	37,437
Calgary East	28,320	60.9	11,019	23.7	5,172	11.1	805	1.7	1,199	2.6	46,515
Calgary North	27,994	64.3	10,794	24.8	4,227	9.7	552	1.3			43,567
Calgary South	37,900	66.5	14,839	26.1	3,584	6.3	460	0.8	174	0.3	56,957
Calgary West	28,474	65.4	10,762	24.7	3,694	8.5	512	1.2	104	0.2	43,546
Crowfoot	25,202	77.1	5,947	18.2	1,529	4.7					32,678
Edmonton East	18,699	56.1	9,253	27.7	5,154	15.5			252	0.8	33,358
Edmonton North	24,618	60.5	10,259	25.2	5,673	13.9			122	0.3	40,672
Edmonton South	27,713	59.8	13,221	28.5	5,401	11.7					46,335
Edmonton–Strathcona	26,430	59.5	12,471	28.1	5,352	12.0			193	0.4	44,446
Edmonton West	21,423	55.7	12,222	31.8	4,624	12.0			215	0.6	38,484
Lethbridge–Foothills	29,069	69.9	7,345	17.7	3,720	8.9	1,282	3.1	174	0.4	41,590
Medicine Hat	28,893	72.3	6,630	16.6	3,053	7.6	1,412	3.5			39,988
Peace River	20,748	63.1	6,312	19.2	5,801	17.7					32,861
Pembina	33,722	66.7	11,877	23.5	4,953	9.8					50,552
Red Deer	33,226	74.8	6,338	14.3	2,856	6.4	1,974	4.4			44,394
Vegreville	26,448	78.4	3,848	11.4	3,191	9.5			264	0.8	33,751
Wetaskiwin	27,785	76.3	5,044	13.9	3,587	9.9					36,416
Yellowhead	28,849	70.0	7,083	17.2	3,600	8.7			1,678	4.1	41,210
Province Totals	559,588	65.6	188,295	22.1	84,236	9.9	8,164	1.0	12,894	1.5	853,177
Rejected											2,360
Total Vote Cast											855,537

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (21)
Ind.	= 9,601	3
None	= 1,649	2
Comm.	= 970	7
M.-L.	= 500	6
Libert.	= 174	1

Table 12-18 Alberta—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Athabasca	13,287	47.5	9,822	35.1	4,218	15.1	463	1.7	196	0.7	27,986
Bow River	30,463	76.6	5,850	14.7	2,802	7.0	656	1.6			39,771
Calgary Centre	18,610	57.4	9,698	29.9	2,994	9.2	257	0.8	867	2.7	32,426
Calgary East	23,073	52.8	11,662	26.7	4,490	10.3	422	1.0	4,022	9.2	43,669
Calgary North	26,201	63.4	10,689	25.9	3,180	7.7	318	0.8	924	2.2	41,312
Calgary South	34,873	68.1	11,754	23.0	2,812	5.5	305	0.6	1,448	2.8	51,192
Calgary West	26,639	65.9	9,339	23.1	3,107	7.7	294	0.7	1,072	2.7	40,451
Crowfoot	23,491	76.6	4,761	15.5	1,912	6.2	498	1.6			30,662
Edmonton East	14,840	53.9	7,606	27.6	4,763	17.3	187	0.7	141	0.5	27,537
Edmonton North	21,442	59.0	9,696	26.7	5,107	14.0			112	0.3	36,357
Edmonton South	24,839	61.1	10,673	26.2	4,772	11.7			388	1.0	40,672
Edmonton—Strathcona	23,920	59.4	10,938	27.2	4,837	12.0			590	1.5	40,285
Edmonton West	18,730	56.2	9,999	30.0	3,886	11.7			692	2.1	33,307
Lethbridge—Foothills	27,307	68.6	6,882	17.3	3,974	10.0	1,031	2.6	614	1.5	39,808
Medicine Hat	25,908	70.3	6,462	17.5	3,453	9.4	1,022	2.8			36,845
Peace River	18,953	59.4	6,243	19.6	5,436	17.0	462	1.4	838	2.6	31,932
Pembina	31,490	64.7	11,464	23.6	5,260	10.8	465	1.0			48,679
Red Deer	31,758	74.7	6,180	14.5	3,345	7.9	1,203	2.8			42,486
Vegreville	25,682	74.8	4,373	12.7	3,172	9.2	575	1.7	529	1.5	34,331
Wetaskiwin	26,620	75.0	5,208	14.7	3,673	10.3					35,501
Yellowhead	27,953	69.5	7,302	18.1	4,562	11.3			419	1.0	40,236
Province Totals	516,079	64.9	176,601	22.2	81,755	10.3	8,158	1.0	12,852	1.6	795,445
Rejected											1,949
Total Vote Cast											797,394

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (21)
Rhino = 5,555	8
None = 3,753	2
Ind. = 2,384	6
Comm. = 608	6
M.-L. = 552	10

Table 12–19 Alberta—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Athabasca	23,997	68.3	4,222	12.0	6,001	17.1	332	0.9	578	1.6	35,130
Bow River	43,033	76.2	4,066	7.2	5,258	9.3	326	0.6	3,792	6.7	56,475
Calgary Centre	24,924	66.4	5,955	15.9	5,138	13.7			1,545	4.1	37,562
Calgary East	36,825	58.9	14,749	23.6	8,558	13.7	343	0.5	2,097	3.4	62,572
Calgary North	39,207	72.8	6,864	12.7	7,027	13.0			765	1.4	53,863
Calgary South	55,590	77.9	7,827	11.0	6,135	8.6			1,802	2.5	71,354
Calgary West	37,565	74.7	5,749	11.4	5,409	10.8	201	0.4	1,361	2.7	50,285
Crowfoot	26,291	77.8	2,483	7.4	3,153	9.3	294	0.9	1,559	4.6	33,780
Edmonton East	16,119	48.5	6,002	18.1	7,668	23.1			3,459	10.4	33,248
Edmonton North	29,074	57.3	8,311	16.4	12,305	24.2	345	0.7	714	1.4	50,749
Edmonton South	32,510	62.5	8,259	15.9	9,407	18.1	252	0.5	1,618	3.1	52,046
Edmonton–Strathcona	33,712	61.4	8,500	15.5	11,095	20.2	218	0.4	1,352	2.5	54,877
Edmonton West	25,764	58.8	9,673	22.1	7,339	16.8			1,023	2.3	43,799
Lethbridge–Foothills	31,316	67.4	5,315	11.4	6,822	14.7	456	1.0	2,571	5.5	46,480
Medicine Hat	33,978	75.8	4,025	9.0	4,652	10.4	772	1.7	1,427	3.2	44,854
Peace River	25,648	62.2	5,419	13.2	6,333	15.4	354	0.9	3,455	8.4	41,209
Pembina	44,026	70.6	7,228	11.6	9,792	15.7			1,342	2.2	62,388
Red Deer	41,695	75.4	5,195	9.4	5,201	9.4	691	1.3	2,494	4.5	55,276
Vegreville	32,480	80.2	2,775	6.9	3,793	9.4	372	0.9	1,078	2.7	40,498
Wetaskiwin	30,128	70.9	3,231	7.6	5,596	13.2	456	1.1	3,063	7.2	42,474
Yellowhead	37,462	74.0	4,097	8.1	6,906	13.6	553	1.1	1,602	3.2	50,620
Province Totals	701,344	68.8	129,945	12.7	143,588	14.1	5,965	0.6	38,967	3.8	1,019,539
Rejected											2,735
Total Vote Cast											1,022,274

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (21)
CRWP	= 21,885	20
Ind.	= 5,415	4
Rhino	= 4,005	4
GP	= 3,472	7
None	= 2,145	1
Comm.	= 902	6
Libert.	= 737	3
Comm'lth.	= 136	1

Table 12–20 Alberta—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Athabasca	17,248	52.8	4,031	12.3	8,911	27.3			2,470	7.6	32,660
Beaver River	13,768	44.3	6,528	21.0	6,492	20.9			4,289	13.8	31,077
Calgary Centre	28,794	53.7	6,280	11.7	10,731	20.0			7,796	14.5	53,601
Calgary North	35,212	57.7	7,925	13.0	7,626	12.5			10,221	16.8	60,984
Calgary Northeast	25,890	54.7	7,663	16.2	7,319	15.5			6,451	13.6	47,323
Calgary Southeast	32,477	62.7	5,305	10.2	6,837	13.2			7,206	13.9	51,825
Calgary Southwest	40,397	65.2	7,147	11.5	5,024	8.1			9,425	15.2	61,993
Calgary West	32,025	58.5	6,880	12.6	6,355	11.6			9,469	17.3	54,729
Crowfoot	19,079	53.7	2,344	6.6	2,725	7.7			11,392	32.1	35,540
Edmonton East	14,394	36.5	7,167	18.2	15,051	38.2			2,791	7.1	39,403
Edmonton North	18,155	40.1	8,760	19.4	14,829	32.8			3,513	7.8	45,257
Edmonton Northwest	15,556	40.1	6,710	17.3	13,198	34.0			3,363	8.7	38,827
Edmonton Southeast	23,596	48.7	10,104	20.8	9,161	18.9			5,620	11.6	48,481
Edmonton Southwest	28,931	53.6	10,375	19.2	8,598	15.9			6,083	11.3	53,987
Edmonton—Strathcona	18,088	33.5	9,672	17.9	13,686	25.3			12,608	23.3	54,054
Elk Island	19,447	48.2	3,613	9.0	9,046	22.4			8,254	20.5	40,360
Lethbridge	26,724	58.4	8,529	18.6	4,489	9.8			6,048	13.2	45,790
Macleod	16,989	50.5	3,175	9.4	2,884	8.6			10,582	31.5	33,630
Medicine Hat	25,043	58.9	5,125	12.1	6,445	15.2			5,907	13.9	42,520
Peace River	23,363	54.3	5,758	13.4	7,389	17.2			6,525	15.2	43,035
Red Deer	23,966	52.7	4,704	10.4	5,723	12.6			11,047	24.3	45,440
St. Albert	19,945	46.7	7,140	16.7	8,370	19.6			7,240	17.0	42,695
Vegreville	24,561	65.3	2,926	7.8	6,035	16.1			4,074	10.8	37,596
Wetaskiwin	20,090	50.2	3,351	8.4	5,741	14.3			10,840	27.1	40,022
Wild Rose	20,054	48.2	4,209	10.1	3,254	7.8			14,104	33.9	41,621
Yellowhead	17,847	44.6	3,997	10.0	6,174	15.4			12,016	30.0	40,034
Province Totals	601,639	51.8	159,418	13.7	202,093	17.4			199,334	17.1	1,162,484
Rejected											2,806
Total Vote Cast											1,165,290

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (26)
RP	= 178,531	26
CHP	= 12,358	9
CRWP	= 2,018	18
None	= 1,342	11
Ind.	= 1,188	4
Libert.	= 1,158	4
Rhino	= 1,068	4
GP	= 1,013	3
Com'lth.	= 371	5
Comm.	= 287	3

Table 12-21 Alberta Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1937–1986

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
August 22, 1935	2	3.2	19,358	6.4	5	7.9	69,845	23.1				
March 21, 1940					1	1.8	2,755	0.9			34,316	11
August 8, 1944									2	3.5	70,307	24
August 17, 1948					2	3.5	52,655	17.9	2	3.5	56,387	19
August 5, 1952	2	3.3	10,971	3.7	3	5.0	66,738	22.4	1	1.7	41,929	14
June 29, 1955	3	4.9	34,757	9.2	15	24.6	117,741	31.1	2	3.3	31,180	8
June 18, 1959	1	1.5	98,730	23.9	1	1.5	57,408	13.9			17,899	4
June 17, 1963			51,278	12.7	2	3.2	79,709	19.8			38,133	9
May 23, 1967	6	9.2	129,544	26.0	3	4.6	53,847	10.8			79,610	16
August 30, 1971	49	65.3	296,934	46.4			6,475	1.0	1	1.3	73,038	11
March 26, 1975	69	92.0	369,764	62.7			29,424	5.0	1	1.3	76,360	12
March 14, 1979	74	93.7	408,097	57.4			43,792	6.2	1	1.3	111,984	15
November 2, 1982	75	94.9	588,485	62.3			17,074	1.8	2	2.5	177,166	18
May 8, 1986	61	73.5	366,783	51.4	4	4.8	87,239	12.2	16	19.3	208,561	29
Totals and Means	342	36.4		25.9	36	3.8		11.9	28	3.0		13

¹CCF through 1959.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
56	88.9	163,700	54.2			48,849	16.2	63	301,752
36	63.2	132,507	42.9	20	35.1	139,286	45.1	57	308,864
51	89.5	146,367	51.9	4	7.0	65,432	23.2	57	282,106
51	89.5	164,003	55.6	2	3.5	21,748	7.4	57	294,793
53	88.3	167,789	56.2	1	1.7	10,908	3.7	60	298,335
37	60.7	175,553	46.4	4	6.6	18,948	5.0	61	378,179
61	93.8	230,283	55.7	2	3.1	9,196	2.2	65	413,516
60	95.2	221,107	54.8	1	1.6	13,217	3.3	63	403,444
55	84.6	222,270	44.6	1	1.5	13,080	2.6	65	498,351
25	33.3	262,953	41.1			462	0.1	75	639,862
4	5.3	107,211	18.2	1	1.3	7,411	1.3	75	590,170
4	5.1	141,284	19.9			5,806	0.8	79	710,963
		7,843	0.8	2	2.5	154,368	16.3	79	944,936
				2	2.4	51,071	7.2	83	713,654
493		38.7		40	4.3		9.6	939	

Seldom is there as clear-cut an example of a dual party system as one finds in this province.¹ At the federal level there has been a relatively high degree of representation of the three major national parties, with some degree of alternation, although the Tories have been somewhat dominant since 1974, winning between 12 and 19 seats in Commons. A short flirtation with Social Credit ended in 1965, when the Socreds last won any seats. Yet Social Credit has been the majority party in the provincial legislature following all but two elections since they first won representation in 1952. In that year a "realignment of the provincial party system" was begun and "completed the following year" when the Socreds established themselves as the long-term majority party.² In short, "the same electorate produces two quite different party systems in national and provincial politics, a situation which emphasizes the effect which federalism has on the development of political institutions."³

At the federal level British Columbia has had a more fractured and oscillating history than it has in provincial elections. The Liberals have won a majority of seats in Commons from British Columbia in three elections, those of 1940, 1949, and 1968. The Progressive Conservatives have done so in 1958, and 4 straight starting with 1974. In the remaining 9 elections no party was able to command a majority of the British Columbia delegation. And in none of the 17 elections did any party command a majority of the popular vote. Hence, we find a relatively high degree of seats lost and gained by any of the parties that have regularly competed. Bearing in mind that in several of the elections analysis was limited to less than the full complement of seats, owing to redistributions, we find

that 290 seats (versus 383) were contested in these 17 elections. Of these, 107, or almost 37 percent, changed hands.

It is also worthwhile to point out from these data that only the CCF/NDP contested every one of the seats. As we have seen, it has been rare for any party, in any province, to have such a record. This might account for the CCF/NDP's relatively high degree of electoral success in British Columbia, in terms of both seats and proportion of votes won. This probably reflects the strong position of trade unions in British Columbia as compared to most of the other provinces. Since it started contesting elections in 1935, the CCF/NDP has never received as low as 20 percent of the British Columbia popular vote. Indeed, as the Liberals' fortunes have declined in the last 4 elections, winning only 3 seats, the NDP has come to supplant them.

An interesting facet of British Columbia's federal contests has been the rise in the total number of candidates. In 1935 there were 66 candidates for 16 seats, a ratio of 4.1:1. This has varied somewhat, but since 1972 has been increasing steadily, from 4.1 to 6.8:1 in 1988, primarily because of a rise in candidacies we have labeled "other." This is somewhat consistent with the experience of other provinces in terms of a general rise in this phenomenon, but the 1988 ratio places British Columbia ahead of Quebec in this regard. This may reflect a greater access to the ballot for would-be candidates, thus encouraging what might be considered frivolous candidacies. However, there is another possibility, and that is that ballot access is being used increasingly as a measure of dissent, if not for groups, at least for those individuals who run. Robin has described British Columbia as one which "has long been a fractured commu-

nity.”⁴ This may be taken as yet one more piece of evidence for this assertion, bearing in mind that it is taking place in a political society that is already highly divisive in terms of the number of parties which successfully compete.

British Columbia is one of the more electorally competitive provinces, as close to a quarter of all seats have been won by less than 5 per cent of the vote. This doubtless reflects the fact that at least 3 parties and occasionally more have been able to win seats in every election we have examined. In the three elections, 1979–84, there was an increase in the number of seats decided by more than 25 percent, reflecting an increased hold by the Tories on selected seats, but still considerably less than that which took place when all seats are aggregated at the national level. In 1988 the number of such contests declined, however.

In its provincial elections, we see a situation which is quite unusual in Western politics in general and in Canada in particular. That is, British Columbia has had a government run by a minor party (Social Credit) virtually without interruption since 1953. In the one election (1972) they lost since taking power, they did so to another minor party, the NDP. And, even more remarkably, the Socred party leadership and head of the government under the Socreds long had a dynastic quality. First W. A. C. (“Wacky”) Bennett from 1953 to 1972, and then his son, Bill, served as premier. Three months after his father had resigned in 1972, the younger Bennett won his father’s seat in the legislature, becoming party leader two months later and premier in 1975.⁵

Why has a minor party, one which has all but disappeared in federal elections and has not

Table 13–1 British Columbia—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	5	31.3	71,034	24.6	6	37.5	91,729	31.8	3	18.8	97,015	33.6
1940	4	25.0	110,619	30.5	10	62.5	135,920	37.4	1	6.3	103,181	28.4
1945	5	31.3	128,529	30.0	5	31.3	117,737	27.5	4	25.0	125,945	29.4
1949	3	16.7	128,620	27.9	11	61.1	169,018	36.7	3	16.7	145,442	31.5
1953	3	13.6	66,426	14.1	8	36.4	145,570	30.9	7	31.8	125,487	26.6
1957	7	31.8	192,988	32.6	2	9.1	121,301	20.5	7	31.8	131,873	22.3
1958	18	81.8	308,971	49.4			100,889	16.1	4	18.2	153,405	24.5
1962	6	27.3	187,389	27.3	4	18.2	187,438	27.3	10	45.5	212,035	30.9
1963	4	18.2	172,501	23.4	7	31.8	237,896	32.3	9	40.9	222,883	30.3
1965	3	13.6	139,226	19.2	7	31.8	217,726	30.0	9	40.9	239,132	32.9
1968			155,101	19.4	16	69.6	333,949	41.8	7	30.4	260,989	32.7
1972	8	34.8	313,253	33.0	4	17.4	274,468	28.9	11	47.8	332,345	35.0
1974	13	56.5	423,954	41.9	8	34.8	336,435	33.3	2	8.7	232,547	23.0
1979	19	67.9	530,380	44.3	1	3.6	274,946	23.0	8	28.6	381,678	31.9
1980	16	57.1	502,088	41.5			268,262	22.2	12	42.9	426,858	35.3
1984	19	67.9	668,432	46.6	1	3.6	235,394	16.4	8	28.6	502,331	35.1
1988	12	37.5	527,767	34.4	1	3.1	326,801	21.3	19	59.4	567,732	37.0
Totals and Means	145	37.9		31.8	91	23.8		28.1	124	32.4		30.6

¹CCF through 1958.
²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

won a seat in British Columbia since the 1965 elections, come to be so dominant? One answer appears to lie in the fragmentation of the major parties themselves in terms of the inability of the national parties to give direction or assistance to the provincial organizations. Hence, in 1953 neither Liberals nor Progressive Conservatives were able to raise sufficient funds to wage a strong contest, nor have they been able to do so since then. Instead, money has flowed to the Socreds who have taken for themselves the position of the last defense against a Socialist (read NDP) government dominated by the labor unions.⁶ And, as a consequence of controlling the legislature for so long, the Socreds have been able to continue their dominance through the device of malapportionment.

Notes

1. For the most current extended analysis of this, see Donald E. Blake, *Two Political Worlds: Parties and Voting in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985).
2. Martin Robin, "British Columbia: The Company Province," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces* (2d ed.; Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 49.
3. Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), p. 550.
4. Robin, op. cit., p. 35.
5. For an acid review of the consequences of this, see Peter Sypnowich, "Return to Lotus Land," *Saturday Night 101* (May 1986), 19-30.
6. Robin, op. cit., p. 57.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
		1,796	0.6	2	6.3	27,209	9.4	16	288,783
		506	0.1	1	6.3	12,918	3.6	16	363,144
		9,890	2.3	2	12.5	46,340	10.8	16	428,441
		2,109	0.5	1	5.6	15,879	3.4	18	461,068
4	18.2	123,278	26.1			10,762	2.3	22	471,523
6	27.3	143,145	24.2			2,232	0.4	22	591,539
		59,762	9.6			2,515	0.4	22	625,542
2	9.1	97,396	14.2			1,931	0.3	22	686,189
2	9.1	97,846	13.3			4,846	0.7	22	735,972
3	13.6	126,532	17.4			3,368	0.5	22	725,984
						48,703	6.1	23	798,742
		25,107	2.6			3,116	0.3	23	948,289
		12,433	1.2			5,512	0.5	23	1,010,881
		1,885	0.2			7,023	0.6	28	1,195,912
		1,763	0.1			10,841	0.9	28	1,209,812
		3,094	0.2			23,797	1.7	28	1,433,048
		1,169	0.1			111,548	7.3	32	1,535,017
17	4.4		6.6	6	1.6		2.9	383	

Table 13–2 British Columbia—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935 ¹	16	15	4	1	3	15	4	1	1	16		2		2				18	1	1	1	66	5
1940	16	15	3	1	1	15	7	3		16	1		2	1				6	1		1	53	4
1945	16	15	2	3	2	15	5		5	16	1	3		9				21	1	1		76	7
1949 ²	18	15	2		2	16	4	6		18	2	1	4	2				5	1		1	56	7
1953 ³	22	16	3			22	8		3	22	3	1		22		3		18			1	100	4
1957	22	22	3	4		22	2		6	22	6	1	1	21	4	2		4				91	7
1958	22	22	7	11		22			2	22	4		3	22			6	5				93	11
1962	22	22	6		12	21		4		22	4	6		4		2		4				73	12
1963	22	22	4		2	22	4	3		22	9		1	22	2			5				93	3
1965	22	22	3		1	22	7			22	9			22	2	1		8				96	1
1968 ⁴	23	23			3	23	6	6		23	5		3	19				9				97	6
1972	23	23		8		23	4		12	23	7	4		19				6				94	12
1974	23	23	9	4		23	2	6	2	23	2		8	10				29				108	10
1979 ⁴	28	28	10	2		28	1		5	28	1	3		4				31				119	5
1980	28	28	15	1	4	28			1	28	8	4		5				39				128	5
1984	28	28	15	4	1	28		1		28	8		4	7				71				162	5
1988 ⁵	32	32	6		3	32	1	1		32	2	2		2				122				218	3
Totals	383	371	92	39	34	377	55	31	37	383	72	27	26	193	8	8	6	401	4	2	4	1,723	107

¹Following a redistribution, analysis is limited to the 14 seats which are comparable to the previous election; ²16 seats; ³18 seats; ⁴17 seats; ⁵11 seats.

Table 13–3 British Columbia—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 –4.9	5.0 –9.9	10.0 –14.9	15.0 –19.9	20.0 –24.9	25.0– 100.0	Total Seats
1935	8	2	3	1	1	1	16
1940	5	5	3	1	1	1	16
1945	4	8	1		1	2	16
1949	2	5	3	4	1	3	18
1953	6	3	4	1	4	4	22
1957	5	1	6	4	4	2	22
1958	3	5	1	4	1	8	22
1962	7	5	2	1	1	6	22
1963	7	4	4	3	1	3	22
1965	4	3	6	2	5	2	22
1968	6	4	6	3	1	3	23
1972	5	3	5	4	4	2	23
1974	7	7	3	1	3	2	23
1979	5	5	3	4	4	7	28
1980	6	4	6	6	1	5	28
1984	4	6	4	2	5	7	28
1988	7	6	8	6	3	2	32
Totals	91	76	68	47	41	60	383
Means	23.8	19.8	17.8	12.3	10.7	15.7	

Table 13–4 British Columbia—1935 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cariboo	1,853	17.9	4,222	40.9	3,740	36.2			510	4.9	10,325
Comox–Alberni	1,509	15.9			2,437	25.6			5,574	58.6	9,520
Fraser Valley	4,359	34.5	3,379	26.8	3,630	28.7			1,261	10.0	12,629
Kamloops	2,974	26.6	4,190	37.5	2,920	26.1			1,084	9.7	11,168
Kootenay East			3,339	33.2	1,553	15.4	1,262	12.5	3,904	38.8	10,058
Kootenay West	4,995	42.2	3,149	26.6	3,689	31.2					11,833
Nanaimo	6,440	31.8	6,204	30.6	7,053	34.8			546	2.7	20,243
New Westminster	6,531	24.1	9,977	36.9	9,716	35.9			850	3.1	27,074
Skeena	1,751	21.2	3,898	47.2	2,611	31.6					8,260
Vancouver–Burrard	5,259	18.7	10,215	36.3	10,209	36.3	534	1.9	1,913	6.8	28,130
Vancouver Centre	5,187	23.1	7,658	34.1	7,522	33.4			2,123	9.4	22,490
Vancouver East	3,364	12.6	7,090	26.5	13,629	50.9			2,689	10.0	26,772
Vancouver North	3,025	14.0	7,705	35.6	8,641	40.0			2,255	10.4	21,626
Vancouver South	9,491	30.7	9,212	29.8	8,632	27.9			3,595	11.6	30,930
Victoria	7,505	35.3	6,378	30.0	6,482	30.5			905	4.3	21,270
Yale	6,791	41.3	5,113	31.1	4,551	27.7					16,455
Province Totals	71,034	24.6	91,729	31.8	97,015	33.6	1,796	0.6	27,209	9.4	288,783
Rejected											3,640
Total Vote Cast											292,423

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (16)	Elected
Reconstn. = 19,208 ¹	13	
Ind. = 5,196	2	1
Comm. = 1,555	1	
Lab. = 999	1	
Soc. = 251	1	

¹Details of the Reconstruction vote can be found in Scarrow (1962).

Table 13–5 British Columbia—1940 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Conservative		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cariboo	2,354	17.5	6,063	45.0	5,070	37.6					13,487
Comox–Alberni					3,835	27.4			10,156	72.6	13,991
Fraser Valley	6,211	39.5	6,638	42.2	2,877	18.3					15,726
Kamloops	4,290	31.9	5,621	41.8	3,538	26.3					13,449
Kootenay East	4,395	35.0	3,974	31.6	4,202	33.4					12,571
Kootenay West	6,771	39.1	4,137	23.9	6,389	36.9					17,297
Nanaimo	7,518	29.9	10,668	42.5	6,252	24.9	506	2.0	181	0.7	25,125
New Westminster	9,372	27.2	15,287	44.3	9,837	28.5					34,496
Skeena	1,472	15.6	4,980	52.7	2,845	30.1			145	1.5	9,442
Vancouver–Burrard	9,475	28.9	12,617	38.4	10,745	32.7					32,837
Vancouver Centre	9,338	30.2	12,100	39.2	8,427	27.3			1,038	3.4	30,903
Vancouver East	5,975	20.6	9,196	31.6	12,490	43.0			1,398	4.8	29,059
Vancouver North	7,186	26.1	10,496	38.1	9,832	35.7					27,514
Vancouver South	18,470	48.6	13,451	35.4	6,062	16.0					37,983
Victoria	9,193	34.8	13,887	52.5	3,352	12.7					26,432
Yale	8,599	37.7	6,805	29.8	7,428	32.5					22,832
Province Totals	110,619	30.5	135,920	37.4	103,181	28.4	506	0.1	12,918	3.6	363,144
Rejected											4,959
Total Vote Cast											368,103

Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (16)	Elected
Ind.	= 10,967	3	1
Comm.	= 1,398	1	
Ind. Nat.	= 408	1	
Ind. Lib.	= 145	1	

Table 13–6 British Columbia—1945 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Cariboo	2,490	17.6	4,841	34.1	5,773	40.7	1,080	7.6			14,184
Comox–Alberni					4,692	28.1			12,027	71.9	16,719
Fraser Valley	6,102	31.9	7,629	39.9	5,377	28.1					19,108
Kamloops	4,401	33.1	4,229	31.8	4,003	30.1			666	5.0	13,299
Kootenay East	2,640	20.6	3,189	24.9	4,712	36.9	613	4.8	1,632	12.8	12,786
Kootenay West	4,938	30.0	3,802	23.1	1,611	9.8			6,123	37.2	16,474
Nanaimo	11,181	35.3	8,223	26.0	9,542	30.1			2,707	8.6	31,653
New Westminster	11,133	26.6	14,158	33.8	12,229	29.2	1,403	3.4	2,955	7.1	41,878
Skeena	2,184	19.7	3,333	30.1	4,079	36.8			1,479	13.4	11,075
Vancouver–Burrard	14,677	37.4	8,648	22.0	12,264	31.2	1,025	2.6	2,635	6.7	39,249
Vancouver Centre	8,859	26.5	9,959	29.8	9,145	27.3	1,042	3.1	4,462	13.3	33,467
Vancouver East	7,008	19.6	7,786	21.7	16,003	44.7			5,012	14.0	35,809
Vancouver North	5,971	17.2	13,373	38.6	10,010	28.9	1,483	4.3	3,809	11.0	34,646
Vancouver South	25,878	53.8	12,056	25.1	8,497	17.7	766	1.6	920	1.9	48,117
Victoria	11,442	32.3	11,806	33.3	10,295	29.1	793	2.2	1,093	3.1	35,429
Yale	9,625	39.2	4,705	19.2	7,713	31.4	1,685	6.9	820	3.3	24,548
Province Totals	128,529	30.0	117,737	27.5	125,945	29.4	9,890	2.3	46,340	10.8	428,441
Rejected											4,961
Total Vote Cast											433,402

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (16)	Elected
Lab. Prog. = 25,128	11	
Ind. = 7,348	1	1
Ind. CCF = 6,123	1	1
Trade Un. = 4,679	1	
Dem. = 2,603	5	
Soc. Lab. = 459	2	

Table 13–7 British Columbia—1949 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby–Richmond	6,097	18.4	12,848	38.9	12,553	38.0			1,558	4.7	33,056
Cariboo			7,330	55.5	5,870	44.5					13,200
Coast–Capilano	4,713	17.9	15,294	58.2	6,253	23.8					26,260
Comox–Alberni					7,785	40.6			11,397	59.4	19,182
Fraser Valley	4,514	19.9	12,587	55.5	5,573	24.6					22,674
Kamloops	7,682	40.1	6,399	33.4	5,091	26.6					19,172
Kootenay East	2,704	19.7	5,546	40.5	5,448	39.8					13,698
Kootenay West	8,319	45.9			9,794	54.1					18,113
Nanaimo	17,507	48.0	9,196	25.2	9,772	26.8					36,475
New Westminster	8,338	25.4	13,904	42.4	9,326	28.5	1,207	3.7			32,775
Skeena			5,847	58.3	4,183	41.7					10,030
Vancouver–Burrard	10,676	35.2	10,967	36.1	8,705	28.7					30,348
Vancouver Centre	5,970	24.7	10,299	42.6	6,382	26.4			1,547	6.4	24,198
Vancouver East	4,261	14.3	10,154	34.0	14,056	47.1			1,377	4.6	29,848
Vancouver Quadra	16,661	50.1	10,665	32.1	5,908	17.8					33,234
Vancouver South	9,462	28.7	13,082	39.7	10,397	31.6					32,941
Victoria	10,154	29.4	19,324	56.0	5,048	14.6					34,526
Yale	11,562	36.9	5,576	17.8	13,298	42.4	902	2.9			31,338
Province Totals	128,620	27.9	169,018	36.7	145,442	31.5	2,109	0.5	15,879	3.4	461,068
Rejected											3,717
Total Vote Cast											464,785
Vote Cast for "Other":		Ridings (18)		Elected							
Ind.	=	11,992	2	1							
Lab. Prog.	=	3,887	3								

Table 13–8 British Columbia—1953 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby–Coquitlam	2,124	11.0	4,256	22.1	7,232	37.6	4,987	25.9	627	3.3	19,226
Burnaby–Richmond			7,021	34.2	6,381	31.1	6,334	30.9	792	3.9	20,528
Cariboo			5,160	34.3	4,314	28.7	5,562	37.0			15,036
Coast–Capilano	2,936	9.9	13,614	45.9	5,361	18.1	7,092	23.9	673	2.3	29,676
Comox–Alberni	1,790	10.1	4,609	26.1	6,115	34.7	4,275	24.2	850	4.8	17,639
Esquimalt–Saanich	9,537	46.1	4,071	19.7	3,484	16.9	3,578	17.3			20,670
Fraser Valley			9,318	40.3	3,527	15.3	9,618	41.6	635	2.7	23,098
Kamloops	7,578	46.7	2,731	16.8	2,140	13.2	3,780	23.3			16,229
Kootenay East			4,988	38.1	3,672	28.0	3,874	29.6	563	4.3	13,097
Kootenay West	1,040	5.7	3,994	21.9	8,990	49.3	3,871	21.2	347	1.9	18,242
Nanaimo	3,412	18.1	4,884	25.9	7,272	38.6	2,773	14.7	516	2.7	18,857
New Westminster	3,083	8.9	10,735	30.9	9,258	26.6	10,770	31.0	896	2.6	34,742
Okanagan Boundary			5,053	24.4	8,086	39.1	7,543	36.5			20,682
Okanagan–Revelstoke	2,132	18.1	3,340	28.4	2,348	20.0	3,537	30.1	395	3.4	11,752
Skeena			5,332	43.6	3,724	30.4	2,880	23.5	301	2.5	12,237
Vancouver–Burrard	4,430	17.0	9,035	34.7	5,010	19.3	7,063	27.1	482	1.9	26,020
Vancouver Centre	1,749	8.6	8,259	40.8	4,516	22.3	4,946	24.5	756	3.7	20,226
Vancouver East	1,038	5.2	3,272	16.2	10,192	50.6	4,885	24.2	764	3.8	20,151
Vancouver–Kingsway	1,700	7.7	3,957	18.0	10,162	46.2	5,610	25.5	578	2.6	22,007
Vancouver Quadra	12,769	43.8	7,786	26.7	3,628	12.5	4,955	17.0			29,138
Vancouver South	4,986	17.4	10,459	36.6	5,610	19.6	6,668	23.3	852	3.0	28,575
Victoria	6,122	18.2	13,696	40.6	4,465	13.3	8,677	25.8	735	2.2	33,695
Province Totals	66,426	14.1	145,570	30.9	125,487	26.6	123,278	26.1	10,762	2.3	471,523
Rejected											3,933
Total Vote Cast											475,456
Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (22)										
Lab. Prog. =	10,340		17								
Ind. SC =	422		1								

Table 13–9 British Columbia—1957 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby–Coquitlam	4,949	17.5	4,778	16.9	10,947	38.8	7,552	26.8			28,226
Burnaby–Richmond	7,940	25.8	7,121	23.2	7,662	24.9	7,999	26.0			30,722
Cariboo	4,217	21.7	4,208	21.6	2,737	14.1	8,292	42.6			19,454
Coast–Capilano	11,643	27.6	16,443	39.0	5,140	12.2	8,918	21.2			42,144
Comox–Alberni	7,423	31.0	3,146	13.1	8,598	35.9	4,789	20.0			23,956
Esquimalt–Saanich	15,330	53.8	5,034	17.7	4,446	15.6	3,677	12.9			28,487
Fraser Valley	6,911	24.1	5,262	18.4	5,405	18.9	11,091	38.7			28,669
Kamloops	10,029	47.2	3,383	15.9	1,959	9.2	5,858	27.6			21,229
Kootenay East	2,082	14.0	4,670	31.4	4,022	27.1	4,082	27.5			14,856
Kootenay West	3,475	16.9	2,705	13.2	8,996	43.8	5,366	26.1			20,542
Nanaimo	6,131	26.7	3,448	15.0	8,650	37.6	4,766	20.7			22,995
New Westminster	10,172	21.3	8,632	18.1	11,344	23.8	16,916	35.5	628	1.3	47,692
Okanagan Boundary	6,368	26.0	3,336	13.6	7,340	29.9	7,465	30.5			24,509
Okanagan–Revelstoke	3,305	24.4	3,415	25.2	1,455	10.7	5,376	39.7			13,551
Skeena	3,575	25.3	5,035	35.6	5,517	39.1					14,127
Vancouver–Burrard	13,721	46.6	4,626	15.7	4,088	13.9	6,772	23.0	259	0.9	29,466
Vancouver Centre	9,087	41.5	5,357	24.5	2,216	10.1	4,707	21.5	528	2.4	21,895
Vancouver East	4,110	18.1	2,454	10.8	10,782	47.6	5,312	23.4			22,658
Vancouver–Kingsway	6,762	25.7	4,270	16.2	9,040	34.3	6,262	23.8			26,334
Vancouver Quadra	21,719	63.9	5,423	16.0	2,959	8.7	3,871	11.4			33,972
Vancouver South	16,058	44.9	7,568	21.1	4,849	13.5	6,505	18.2	817	2.3	35,797
Victoria	17,981	44.7	10,987	27.3	3,721	9.2	7,569	18.8			40,258
Province Totals	192,988	32.6	121,301	20.5	131,873	22.3	143,145	24.2	2,232	0.4	591,539
Rejected											4,651
Total Vote Cast											596,190

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (22)
Lab. Prog. = 1,345	2
Can. Dem. = 628	1
Ind. = 259	1

Table 13-10 British Columbia—1958 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		CCF		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby—Coquitlam	11,422	38.1	3,533	11.8	12,917	43.1	2,113	7.0			29,985
Burnaby—Richmond	15,570	45.6	5,286	15.5	10,063	29.5	3,190	9.4			34,109
Cariboo	9,327	43.2	3,279	15.2	3,175	14.7	5,811	26.9			21,592
Coast—Capilano	19,343	43.5	17,411	39.1	6,134	13.8	1,599	3.6			44,487
Comox—Alberni	11,483	46.1	2,472	9.9	9,607	38.6	1,354	5.4			24,916
Esquimalt—Saanich	18,768	65.4	3,576	12.5	4,755	16.6	1,331	4.6	280	1.0	28,710
Fraser Valley	13,890	44.1	4,562	14.5	5,640	17.9	7,414	23.5			31,506
Kamloops	13,858	63.3	2,868	13.1	2,777	12.7	2,390	10.9			21,893
Kootenay East	5,363	33.5	4,483	28.0	4,006	25.0	2,174	13.6			16,026
Kootenay West	8,248	37.9	2,306	10.6	9,460	43.5	1,753	8.1			21,767
Nanaimo	10,734	43.9	2,606	10.7	10,029	41.0	1,077	4.4			24,446
New Westminster	21,202	41.7	4,559	9.0	13,220	26.0	10,886	21.4	958	1.9	50,825
Okanagan Boundary	13,065	48.4	2,637	9.8	7,829	29.0	3,470	12.9			27,001
Okanagan—Revelstoke	7,004	47.9	2,329	15.9	1,859	12.7	3,213	22.0	205	1.4	14,610
Skeena	5,028	30.1	4,148	24.8	6,647	39.8	876	5.2			16,699
Vancouver—Burrard	18,001	60.5	5,154	17.3	5,121	17.2	1,459	4.9			29,735
Vancouver Centre	14,044	61.4	3,927	17.2	3,183	13.9	1,059	4.6	650	2.8	22,863
Vancouver East	8,654	36.6	2,175	9.2	11,486	48.6	1,338	5.7			23,653
Vancouver—Kingsway	11,928	42.7	2,631	9.4	11,724	42.0	1,642	5.9			27,925
Vancouver Quadra	24,802	70.7	5,713	16.3	3,496	10.0	1,062	3.0			35,073
Vancouver South	22,292	60.5	6,528	17.7	5,717	15.5	1,914	5.2	422	1.1	36,873
Victoria	24,945	61.1	8,706	21.3	4,560	11.2	2,637	6.5			40,848
Province Totals	308,971	49.4	100,889	16.1	153,405	24.5	59,762	9.6	2,515	0.4	625,542
Rejected											4,440
Total Vote Cast											629,982

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (22)
Lab. Prog. = 2,515 5

Table 13–11 British Columbia—1962 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby–Coquitlam	5,206	13.6	9,351	24.5	19,050	49.9	4,564	12.0			38,171
Burnaby–Richmond	8,683	21.4	11,509	28.4	15,620	38.6	4,705	11.6			40,517
Cariboo	6,830	24.6	7,715	27.8	4,732	17.1	8,435	30.4			27,712
Coast–Capilano	11,966	23.4	23,583	46.1	11,030	21.6	4,584	9.0			51,163
Comox–Alberni	6,478	22.8	7,689	27.0	10,474	36.8	3,219	11.3	567	2.0	28,427
Esquimalt–Saanich	12,612	38.0	10,566	31.8	6,186	18.6	3,852	11.6			33,216
Fraser Valley	8,562	23.9	8,357	23.4	8,896	24.9	9,970	27.9			35,785
Kamloops	11,312	43.1	5,789	22.1	4,733	18.0	4,393	16.7			26,227
Kootenay East	4,475	26.1	5,414	31.6	4,576	26.7	2,673	15.6			17,138
Kootenay West	6,194	27.5	2,722	12.1	8,303	36.8	5,327	23.6			22,546
Nanaimo–Cowichan– The Islands	7,280	27.6	5,446	20.7	11,152	42.3	2,456	9.3			26,334
New Westminster	13,311	21.9	13,855	22.8	23,827	39.2	9,822	16.2			60,815
Okanagan Boundary	9,069	31.3	5,141	17.8	7,956	27.5	6,766	23.4			28,932
Okanagan–Revelstoke	5,265	34.1	3,604	23.3	3,751	24.3	2,837	18.4			15,457
Skeena	4,338	23.7			10,946	59.8	3,031	16.5			18,315
Vancouver–Burrard	8,651	29.7	9,079	31.1	9,173	31.5	2,245	7.7			29,148
Vancouver Centre	6,803	31.5	7,697	35.6	5,113	23.7	1,779	8.2	224	1.0	21,616
Vancouver East	3,395	15.0	4,447	19.6	12,329	59.2 ¹	1,867	8.2	648	2.9	22,686
Vancouver–Kingsway	5,523	19.2	6,366	22.1	13,837	48.1	3,039	10.6			28,765
Vancouver Quadra	15,113	45.5	10,331	31.1	5,699	17.1	2,103	6.3			33,246
Vancouver South	11,990	29.8	14,660	36.4	9,132	22.7	3,953	9.8	492	1.2	40,227
Victoria	14,333	36.1	14,117	35.5	5,520	13.9	5,776	14.5			39,746
Province Totals	187,389	27.3	187,438	27.3	212,035	30.9	97,396	14.2	1,931	0.3	686,189
Rejected											5,741
Total Vote Cast											691,930

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (22)

Comm. = 1,707 3

Ind. = 224 1

¹ Candidate ran as CCF-NDP.

Table 13-12 British Columbia—1963 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby—Coquitlam	3,990	9.7	14,148	34.4	19,067	46.4	3,917	9.5			41,122
Burnaby—Richmond	7,138	16.4	15,568	35.7	16,578	38.0	4,312	9.9			43,596
Cariboo	8,304	27.1	8,543	27.9	4,461	14.6	9,335	30.5			30,643
Coast—Capilano	10,206	18.9	27,177	50.4	11,731	21.7	4,160	7.7	682	1.3	53,956
Comox—Alberni	6,099	19.6	9,217	29.5	13,449	43.1	2,428	7.8			31,193
Esquimalt—Saanich	13,772	37.5	11,187	30.4	7,193	19.6	4,621	12.6			36,773
Fraser Valley	7,500	19.6	9,226	24.2	9,735	25.5	11,500	30.1	232	0.6	38,193
Kamloops	8,604	29.4	8,359	28.6	6,860	23.5	5,394	18.5			29,217
Kootenay East	3,977	21.7	6,165	33.6	5,395	29.4	2,800	15.3			18,337
Kootenay West	5,122	22.3	4,752	20.7	8,595	37.5	4,455	19.4			22,924
Nanaimo—Cowichan— The Islands	6,481	23.3	6,782	24.4	12,280	44.1	2,272	8.2			27,815
New Westminster	13,908	21.8	17,086	26.7	23,609	37.0	9,280	14.5			63,883
Okanagan Boundary	10,031	33.1	6,453	21.3	6,425	21.2	7,430	24.5			30,339
Okanagan—Revelstoke	5,800	35.2	3,821	23.2	3,554	21.6	3,314	20.1			16,489
Skeena	2,270	11.2	4,860	24.0	10,743	53.1	2,353	11.6			20,226
Vancouver—Burrard	7,678	24.0	12,048	37.6	9,998	31.2	2,150	6.7	127	0.4	32,001
Vancouver Centre	7,353	30.5	9,472	39.3	5,826	24.2	1,430	5.9			24,081
Vancouver East	3,335	14.3	5,538	23.7	12,688	54.3	1,804	7.7			23,365
Vancouver—Kingsway	4,301	14.5	8,154	27.6	13,966	47.2	3,145	10.6			29,566
Vancouver Quadra	13,756	37.9	15,160	41.7	5,324	14.7	2,085	5.7			36,325
Vancouver South	9,374	22.1	19,140	45.1	9,649	22.7	3,960	9.3	345	0.8	42,468
Victoria	13,502	31.1	15,040	34.6	5,757	13.2	5,701	13.1	3,460	8.0	43,460
Province Totals	172,501	23.4	237,896	32.3	222,883	30.3	97,846	13.3	4,846	0.7	735,972
Rejected											4,257
Total Vote Cast											740,229

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (22)
Ind. Lib. = 3,587	2
Comm. = 1,027	2
Ind. = 232	1

Table 13–13 British Columbia—1965 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby–Coquitlam	2,662	6.2	12,090	28.4	22,553	52.9	5,308	12.5			42,613
Burnaby–Richmond	3,499	7.9	13,950	31.6	19,758	44.7	6,999	15.8			44,206
Cariboo	7,756	23.6	7,144	21.8	5,594	17.0	12,344	37.6			32,838
Coast–Capilano	8,429	15.5	26,472	48.6	12,335	22.6	6,525	12.0	733	1.3	54,494
Comox–Alberni	4,072	13.7	7,122	24.0	13,393	45.2	4,183	14.1	878	3.0	29,648
Esquimalt–Saanich	14,787	38.6	9,086	23.7	9,177	23.9	5,268	13.7			38,318
Fraser Valley	4,442	12.3	8,167	22.7	10,563	29.3	12,611	35.0	272	0.8	36,055
Kamloops	11,731	37.4	6,757	21.5	7,132	22.7	5,756	18.3			31,376
Kootenay East	2,830	16.1	5,574	31.7	4,825	27.4	4,370	24.8			17,599
Kootenay West	2,405	11.1	5,495	25.3	8,481	39.1	5,313	24.5			21,694
Nanaimo–Cowichan– The Islands	4,784	17.6	6,431	23.7	12,337	45.4	3,595	13.2			27,147
New Westminster	9,925	15.7	15,330	24.2	27,574	43.6	10,458	16.5			63,287
Okanagan Boundary	9,499	30.8	6,343	20.6	7,522	24.4	7,431	24.1			30,795
Okanagan–Revelstoke	3,983	25.5	4,060	25.9	3,176	20.3	4,294	27.4	135	0.9	15,648
Skeena	982	4.6	6,433	30.3	11,477	54.0	2,368	11.1			21,260
Vancouver–Burrard	5,138	18.4	10,807	38.7	9,233	33.1	2,748	9.8			27,926
Vancouver Centre	6,248	27.8	9,008	40.1	5,184	23.1	1,806	8.0	228	1.0	22,474
Vancouver East	1,900	9.1	3,969	19.0	11,854	56.9	2,840	13.6	274	1.3	20,837
Vancouver–Kingsway	2,240	8.0	7,994	28.6	13,730	49.1	4,012	14.3			27,976
Vancouver Quadra	12,549	37.8	12,895	38.8	5,342	16.1	2,416	7.3			33,202
Vancouver South	6,877	16.0	18,669	43.5	10,633	24.8	6,228	14.5	474	1.1	42,881
Victoria	12,488	28.6	13,930	31.9	7,259	16.6	9,659	22.1	374	0.9	43,710
Province Totals	139,226	19.2	217,726	30.0	239,132	32.9	126,532	17.4	3,368	0.5	725,984
Rejected											5,454
Total Vote Cast											731,438

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (22)
Comm. = 1,716	4
Ind. = 1,150	2
PWM = 274	1
Ind. SC = 228	1

Table 13–14 British Columbia—1968 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby–Richmond	5,035	13.2	16,182	42.4	14,470	37.9	2,445	6.4			38,132
Burnaby–Seymour	3,206	8.1	17,891	45.2	17,753	44.9	702	1.8			39,552
Capilano	7,310	17.1	28,292	66.4	6,279	14.7	745	1.7			42,626
Coast Chilcotin	2,355	10.8	10,292	47.3	7,477	34.4	1,629	7.5			21,753
Comox–Alberni	5,154	17.0	11,939	39.4	11,930	39.3	997	3.3	311	1.0	30,331
Esquimalt–Saanich	13,587	32.5	16,501	39.5	10,952	26.2	751	1.8			41,791
Fraser Valley East	3,514	12.6	9,689	34.7	6,654	23.9	8,035	28.8			27,892
Fraser Valley West	4,997	13.7	13,745	37.8	14,410	39.6	3,224	8.9			36,376
Kamloops–Cariboo	9,704	30.2	13,000	40.5	7,566	23.6	1,842	5.7			32,112
Kootenay West	4,457	16.4	7,768	28.7	12,181	44.9	2,693	9.9			27,099
Nanaimo–Cowichan– The Islands	8,773	24.0	11,378	31.1	15,273	41.7	1,193	3.3			36,617
New Westminster	4,761	11.7	18,083	44.5	16,144	39.7	1,382	3.4	251	0.6	40,621
Okanagan Boundary	10,691	28.4	12,321	32.7	10,481	27.8	4,217	11.2			37,710
Okanagan–Kootenay	4,068	13.2	11,370	36.9	9,552	31.0	5,837	18.9			30,827
Prince George–Peace River	9,293	29.7	10,926	34.9	6,894	22.0	3,776	12.1	402	1.3	31,291
Skeena	3,552	14.9	7,874	32.9	12,471	52.2					23,897
Surrey	5,953	16.4	11,741	32.3	16,186	44.6	2,445	6.7			36,325
Vancouver Centre	8,326	18.4	25,426	56.1	11,151	24.6			420	0.9	45,323
Vancouver East	2,377	8.9	9,750	36.6	13,339	50.0	726	2.7	477	1.8	26,669
Vancouver Kingsway	3,285	10.4	10,835	34.4	15,599	49.6	1,760	5.6			31,479
Vancouver Quadra	11,604	30.3	20,788	54.3	5,727	15.0			175	0.5	38,294
Vancouver South	9,521	23.7	19,757	49.3	9,086	22.7	1,585	4.0	157	0.4	40,106
Victoria	13,578	32.4	18,401	43.9	9,414	22.5			526	1.3	41,919
Province Totals	155,101	19.4	333,949	41.8	260,989	32.7	45,984	5.8	2,719	0.3	798,742
Rejected											5,366
Total Vote Cast											804,108

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (23)
Comm. = 1,196	5
Repub. = 595	2
Ind. = 526	1
Ind. Can. = 402	1

Table 13–15 British Columbia—1972 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby–Richmond–Delta	19,798	35.7	16,441	29.6	18,358	33.1	906	1.6			55,503
Burnaby–Seymour	11,119	23.0	17,985	37.2	18,274	37.8	694	1.4	289	0.6	48,361
Capilano	17,873	34.6	24,489	47.5	8,731	16.9	517	1.0			51,610
Coast Chilcotin	7,601	29.5	8,508	33.1	8,868	34.5	749	2.9			25,726
Comox–Alberni	6,440	18.3	9,501	27.0	17,477	49.7	1,276	3.6	483	1.4	35,177
Esquimalt–Saanich	20,542	41.0	12,097	24.1	15,824	31.6	1,689	3.4			50,152
Fraser Valley East	12,302	34.7	10,297	29.1	8,390	23.7	4,426	12.5			35,415
Fraser Valley West	14,863	31.2	9,870	20.7	22,612	47.5			275	0.6	47,620
Kamloops–Cariboo	13,993	33.5	14,707	35.2	11,002	26.3	2,089	5.0			41,791
Kootenay West	9,210	31.6	4,341	14.9	15,633	53.6					29,184
Nanaimo–Cowichan– The Islands	10,179	22.7	7,107	15.9	25,483	56.9	1,868	4.2	125	0.3	44,762
New Westminster	14,739	32.0	10,992	23.8	19,181	41.6	971	2.1	228	0.5	46,111
Okanagan Boundary	20,468	42.5	14,213	29.5	13,487	28.0					48,168
Okanagan–Kootenay	12,258	32.3	12,416	32.7	11,400	30.1	1,855	4.9			37,929
Prince George–Peace River	14,648	39.4	11,766	31.6	8,076	21.7	2,726	7.3			37,216
Skeena	8,234	30.0	6,091	22.2	13,100	47.8					27,425
Surrey–White Rock	15,123	33.2	7,819	17.2	21,598	47.4	1,030	2.3			45,570
Vancouver Centre	14,156	30.3	19,341	41.3	12,470	26.7	632	1.4	178	0.4	46,777
Vancouver East	4,584	16.5	8,687	31.4	13,525	48.8	613	2.2	298	1.1	27,707
Vancouver Kingsway	6,752	21.2	5,986	18.8	18,108	56.8	750	2.4	277	0.9	31,873
Vancouver Quadra	17,767	42.6	15,001	35.9	8,411	20.2	378	0.9	180	0.4	41,737
Vancouver South	17,762	40.0	14,549	32.8	11,145	25.1	765	1.7	146	0.3	44,367
Victoria	22,842	47.5	12,264	25.5	11,192	23.3	1,173	2.5	637	1.3	48,108
Province Totals	313,253	33.0	274,468	28.9	332,345	35.0	25,107	2.6	3,116	0.3	948,289
Rejected											13,152
Total Vote Cast											961,441

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (23)
None = 1,633 8
Ind. = 1,483 6

Table 13-16 British Columbia—1974 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby—Richmond—Delta	34,013	54.8	17,570	28.3	10,106	16.3			369	0.6	62,058
Burnaby—Seymour	17,574	35.6	18,063	36.6	13,472	27.3			269	0.5	49,378
Capilano	25,797	48.9	21,387	40.6	5,303	10.1			244	0.5	52,731
Coast Chilcotin	9,988	34.0	10,336	35.2	8,655	29.5			356	1.2	29,335
Comox—Alberni	12,683	33.3	13,594	35.7	11,158	29.3			605	1.6	38,040
Esquimalt—Saanich	27,571	50.0	16,404	29.8	10,141	18.4	841	1.5	173	0.3	55,130
Fraser Valley East	18,780	46.3	15,268	37.7	6,489	16.0					40,537
Fraser Valley West	22,925	41.4	13,152	23.7	17,732	32.0	1,205	2.2	371	0.7	55,385
Kamloops—Cariboo	17,328	35.3	20,474	41.7	9,478	19.3	1,782	3.6			49,062
Kootenay West	12,575	41.6	6,073	20.1	11,603	38.4					30,251
Nanaimo—Cowichan— The Islands	18,207	36.4	11,028	22.1	20,444	40.9			288	0.6	49,967
New Westminster	15,193	32.4	14,997	32.0	15,397	32.9	926	2.0	354	0.8	46,867
Okanagan Boundary	23,089	43.2	19,421	36.3	8,975	16.8	2,002	3.7			53,487
Okanagan—Kootenay	17,164	39.8	15,051	34.9	8,163	18.9	2,438	5.7	318	0.7	43,134
Prince George—Peace River	18,769	46.8	13,759	34.3	5,880	14.7	1,665	4.2			40,073
Skeena	8,806	29.0	12,218	40.2	9,358	30.8					30,382
Surrey—White Rock	21,537	43.7	13,276	26.9	12,935	26.2	1,138	2.3	393	0.8	49,279
Vancouver Centre	17,143	37.5	19,064	41.7	8,859	19.4	257	0.6	354	0.8	45,677
Vancouver East	6,747	25.5	9,670	36.5	9,614	36.3			479	1.8	26,510
Vancouver Kingsway	9,155	28.5	12,002	37.4	10,614	33.1			339	1.1	32,110
Vancouver Quadra	18,892	48.3	15,458	39.5	4,434	11.3	179	0.5	181	0.5	39,144
Vancouver South	23,247	52.9	13,881	31.6	6,629	15.1			208	0.5	43,965
Victoria	26,771	55.3	14,289	29.5	7,108	14.7			211	0.4	48,379
Province Totals	423,954	41.9	336,435	33.3	232,547	23.0	12,433	1.2	5,512	0.5	1,010,881
Rejected											3,338
Total Vote Cast											1,014,219

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (23)
Comm. = 3,051	12
Ind. = 1,134	6
M.-L. = 1,205	11
None = 122	2

Table 13–17 British Columbia—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby	19,119	36.9	12,099	23.3	20,604	39.8					51,822
Capilano	27,099	59.4	11,542	25.3	6,639	14.6			332	0.7	45,612
Cariboo–Chilcotin	12,767	42.7	7,477	25.0	8,273	27.7	1,363	4.6			29,880
Comox–Powell River	17,556	35.2	9,910	19.9	22,075	44.3			314	0.6	49,855
Cowichan–Malahat– The Islands	19,025	43.5	7,075	16.2	17,471	40.0			133	0.3	43,704
Esquimalt–Saanich	29,791	54.5	8,154	14.9	15,862	29.0			836	1.5	54,643
Fraser Valley East	24,363	57.1	8,910	20.9	9,126	21.4			293	0.7	42,692
Fraser Valley West	26,892	54.2	7,235	14.6	15,322	30.9			156	0.3	49,605
Kamloops–Shuswap	19,369	43.7	12,720	28.7	12,193	27.5					44,282
Kootenay East–Revelstoke	12,904	40.7	7,658	24.2	11,107	35.1					31,669
Kootenay West	13,645	47.2	3,616	12.5	11,503	39.8			119	0.4	28,883
Mission–Port Moody	18,486	38.9	8,078	17.0	20,847	43.8			152	0.3	47,563
Nanaimo–Alberni	16,478	34.0	10,385	21.4	21,304	44.0			273	0.6	48,440
New Westminster–Coquitlam	15,358	35.4	8,559	19.7	19,301	44.4			221	0.5	43,439
North Vancouver–Burnaby	16,545	38.2	14,377	33.2	12,084	27.9	188	0.4	141	0.3	43,335
Okanagan North	26,560	51.5	13,091	25.4	11,951	23.2					51,602
Okanagan–Similkameen	21,008	49.6	9,421	22.2	11,715	27.6			249	0.6	42,393
Prince George–Bulkley Valley	13,300	42.6	7,862	25.2	8,521	27.3			1,531	4.9	31,214
Prince George–Peace River	16,288	61.0	4,957	18.5	5,478	20.5					26,723
Richmond–South Delta	30,262	54.0	12,003	21.4	13,524	24.2			209	0.4	55,998
Skeena	4,437	16.9	10,381	39.5	10,996	41.8			479	1.8	26,293
Surrey–White Rock– North Delta	30,009	52.6	8,837	15.5	17,992	31.5			265	0.5	57,103
Vancouver Centre	15,335	34.4	15,430	34.6	13,350	30.0			426	1.0	44,541
Vancouver East	5,304	16.5	12,522	39.0	13,697	42.7	334	1.0	214	0.7	32,071
Vancouver Kingsway	7,900	22.2	11,503	32.3	15,928	44.8			253	0.7	35,584
Vancouver Quadra	19,869	45.6	12,820	29.4	10,665	24.5			245	0.6	43,599
Vancouver South	22,653	53.8	10,558	25.1	8,806	20.9			91	0.2	42,108
Victoria	28,058	54.7	7,766	15.2	15,344	29.9			91	0.2	51,259
Province Totals	530,380	44.4	274,946	23.0	381,678	31.9	1,885	0.2	7,023	0.5	1,195,912
Rejected											3,010
Total Vote Cast											1,198,922

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (28)
Ind. = 2,306	4
Comm. = 1,853	12
None = 1,533	5
M.-L. = 645 ¹	12
Rhino = 332 ¹	1
Libert. = 263	2

¹ These figures are at variance with those in Table 5 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer*, but have been confirmed by that office.

Table 13-18 British Columbia—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby	18,619	36.6	10,585	20.8	21,587	42.4			81	0.2	50,872
Capilano	26,327	59.4	10,843	24.4	6,495	14.6			688	1.6	44,353
Cariboo—Chilcotin	12,355	40.8	7,577	25.0	10,292	33.9			92	0.3	30,316
Comox—Powell River	16,545	32.4	9,221	18.1	25,007	49.0			292	0.6	51,065
Cowichan—Malahat— The Islands	18,153	39.5	5,161	11.2	22,154	48.2			529	1.2	45,997
Esquimalt—Saanich	24,961	45.0	10,043	18.1	19,115	34.5			1,324	2.4	55,443
Fraser Valley East	21,989	49.7	9,490	21.5	10,695	24.2			2,057	4.7	44,231
Fraser Valley West	25,770	50.6	8,483	16.7	16,568	32.5			83	0.2	50,904
Kamloops—Shuswap	16,046	35.1	11,588	25.3	17,896	39.1			237	0.5	45,767
Kootenay East—Revelstoke	12,668	38.0	7,386	22.1	13,299	39.9					33,353
Kootenay West	11,417	40.2	4,769	16.8	12,232	43.0					28,418
Mission—Port Moody	17,715	36.0	7,762	15.8	23,224	47.2	358	0.3	150	0.3	49,209
Nanaimo—Alberni	17,040	34.8	6,994	14.3	24,082	49.2			833	1.7	48,949
New Westminster—Coquitlam	14,321	34.1	8,041	19.1	19,498	46.4			147	0.3	42,007
North Vancouver—Burnaby	16,774	38.1	15,307	34.8	11,820	26.8	88	0.2	38	0.1	44,027
Okanagan North	24,983	48.7	11,368	22.2	14,944	29.1					51,295
Okanagan—Similkameen	19,161	45.0	9,433	22.2	13,058	30.7	593	1.4	317	0.7	42,562
Prince George—Bulkley Valley	12,640	39.5	9,147	28.6	10,226	31.9					32,013
Prince George—Peace River	13,593	52.1	5,044	19.3	6,835	26.2	620	2.4			26,092
Richmond—South Delta	29,192	52.0	13,134	23.4	13,606	24.2			231	0.4	56,163
Skeena	6,191	23.1	7,141	26.6	13,280	49.5			205	0.8	26,817
Surrey—White Rock— North Delta	28,151	48.9	9,759	17.0	19,051	33.1			587	1.0	57,548
Vancouver Centre	16,462	35.3	14,667	31.4	14,830	31.8			716	1.5	46,675
Vancouver East	4,742	14.6	12,979	40.0	14,245	43.9			472	1.5	32,438
Vancouver Kingsway	7,924	21.9	10,954	30.3	16,928	46.9			325	0.9	36,131
Vancouver Quadra	20,993	46.1	13,987	30.7	9,907	21.8	104	0.2	528	1.2	45,519
Vancouver South	22,288	53.3	10,254	24.5	8,896	21.3			390	0.9	41,828
Victoria	25,068	50.3	7,145	14.3	17,088	34.3			493	1.0	49,794
Province Totals	502,088	41.5	268,262	22.2	426,858	35.3	1,763	0.1	10,841	0.9	1,209,812
Rejected											3,218
Total Vote Cast											1,213,030

Vote Cast for "Other":	Ridings (28)
Rhino = 4,978	12
Ind. = 3,174	4
Comm. = 1,627	10
M.-L. = 770	13
None = 292	3

Table 13–19 British Columbia—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby	20,697	35.1	9,612	16.3	28,318	48.0			364	0.6	58,991
Capilano	28,616	56.4	13,575	26.8	6,310	12.4			2,193	4.3	50,694
Cariboo–Chilcotin	20,553	54.5	4,881	12.9	11,544	30.6	335	0.9	392	1.0	37,705
Comox–Powell River	26,566	43.4	5,790	9.5	27,288	44.6	357	0.6	1,172	1.9	61,173
Cowichan–Malahat– The Islands	22,964	42.1	5,899	10.8	24,555	45.1			1,080	2.0	54,498
Esquimalt–Saanich	31,766	48.3	9,516	14.5	23,094	35.1	306	0.5	1,108	1.7	65,790
Fraser Valley East	32,073	59.9	7,942	14.8	12,779	23.9			735	1.4	53,529
Fraser Valley West	35,984	54.7	8,349	12.7	19,878	30.2			1,548	2.4	65,759
Kamloops–Shuswap	20,500	36.3	4,675	8.3	30,512	54.1			736	1.3	56,423
Kootenay East–Revelstoke	18,129	46.5	4,477	11.5	15,908	40.8			479	1.2	38,993
Kootenay West	15,804	47.4	2,460	7.4	15,060	45.2					33,324
Mission–Port Moody	30,678	47.5	7,071	11.0	25,925	40.2	327	0.5	540	0.8	64,541
Nanaimo–Alberni	27,410	45.8	5,922	9.9	25,659	42.9			843	1.4	59,834
New Westminster–Coquitlam	18,291	40.0	5,816	12.7	21,134	46.2			528	1.2	45,769
North Vancouver–Burnaby	21,750	43.6	14,321	28.7	12,812	25.7			971	1.9	49,854
Okanagan North	35,904	56.1	9,935	15.5	17,168	26.8	1,025	1.6			64,032
Okanagan–Similkameen	27,071	52.2	8,106	15.6	15,181	29.3	402	0.8	1,089	2.1	51,849
Prince George–Bulkley Valley	18,897	49.3	5,121	13.4	13,274	34.6			1,047	2.7	38,339
Prince George–Peace River	21,154	62.4	3,368	9.9	8,168	24.1	342	1.0	847	2.5	33,879
Richmond–South Delta	38,168	55.4	13,340	19.4	16,377	23.8			1,007	1.5	68,892
Skeena	11,209	36.2	5,130	16.6	14,174	45.8			443	1.4	30,956
Surrey–White Rock– North Delta	39,544	53.6	10,747	14.6	22,555	30.6			951	1.3	73,797
Vancouver Centre	21,704	43.2	10,654	21.2	16,283	32.4			1,569	3.1	50,210
Vancouver East	7,210	20.2	9,044	25.4	18,464	51.8			931	2.6	35,649
Vancouver Kingsway	7,152	18.1	11,640	29.5	20,179	51.1			519	1.3	39,490
Vancouver Quadra	18,581	37.5	21,794	43.9	8,343	16.8			886	1.8	49,604
Vancouver South	25,469	54.9	9,507	20.5	10,909	23.5			529	1.1	46,414
Victoria	24,588	46.3	6,702	12.6	20,480	38.6			1,290	2.4	53,060
Province Totals	668,432	46.7	235,394	16.4	502,331	35.1	3,094	0.2	23,797	1.7	1,433,048 ¹
Rejected											4,856
Total Vote Cast											1,437,904

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (28)

GP	=	8,217	19
Rhino	=	5,228	13
Libert.	=	3,520	12
CRWP	=	2,895	11
Ind.	=	2,084 ¹	7
Comm.	=	1,628	8
None	=	205	3
Comm'lth.	=	20 ¹	1

¹Table 5 of the *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer* shows 2,044 votes for Independents, and 12 votes for the Commonwealth Party.

Table 13-20 British Columbia—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Burnaby—Kingsway	17,455	30.0	12,933	22.2	25,150	43.2			2,655	4.6	58,193
Capilano—Howe Sound	20,219	46.8	12,828	29.7	6,174	14.3			3,996	9.2	43,217
Cariboo—Chilcotin	11,525	36.7	7,886	25.1	11,256	35.8			754	2.4	31,421
Comox—Alberni	13,959	28.3	8,182	16.6	21,128	42.8			6,062	12.3	49,331
Delta	19,755	44.3	8,880	19.9	13,072	29.3			2,933	6.6	44,640
Esquimalt—Juan de Fuca	11,162	25.1	5,332	12.0	22,644	50.9			5,331	12.0	44,469
Fraser Valley East	16,630	38.8	9,075	21.2	12,011	28.0			5,158	12.0	42,874
Fraser Valley West	23,565	45.8	10,079	19.6	13,178	25.6			4,590	8.9	51,412
Kamloops	13,348	32.4	5,431	13.2	21,513	52.3			863	2.1	41,155
Kootenay East	13,284	38.5	4,159	12.1	14,904	43.2			2,140	6.2	34,487
Kootenay West—Revelstoke	12,667	36.0	5,479	15.6	16,381	46.5			674	1.9	35,201
Mission—Coquitlam	20,097	39.5	6,660	13.1	22,259	43.8			1,861	3.7	50,877
Nanaimo—Cowichan	5,296	9.6	18,804	34.0	27,291	49.3			3,986	7.2	55,377
New Westminster—Burnaby	18,007	31.5	11,013	19.3	24,933	43.6	718	1.3	2,486	4.3	57,157
North Island—Powell River	11,036	24.4	7,343	16.2	23,428	51.8			3,381	7.5	45,188
North Vancouver	18,515	37.6	13,382	27.2	11,735	23.9			5,554	11.3	49,186
Okanagan Centre	19,485	37.3	8,922	17.1	15,800	30.2			8,095	15.5	52,302
Okanagan—Shuswap	15,378	36.1	6,759	15.9	18,533	43.6			1,881	4.4	42,551
Okanagan—Similkameen—Merritt	15,352	35.5	7,520	17.4	16,694	38.6	451	1.0	3,178	7.4	43,195
Port Moody—Coquitlam	19,528	36.2	8,346	15.5	23,871	44.2			2,238	4.1	53,983
Prince George—Bulkley Valley	11,844	31.7	9,281	24.9	14,248	38.2			1,962	5.3	37,335
Prince George—Peace River	13,903	39.6	4,183	11.9	11,684	33.3			5,345	15.2	35,115
Richmond	25,559	44.0	13,231	22.8	15,787	27.2			3,448	5.9	58,025
Saanich—Gulf Islands	21,900	33.5	11,534	17.6	23,168	35.4			8,845	13.5	65,447
Skeena	9,023	28.3	4,646	14.6	16,815	52.7			1,426	4.5	31,910
Surrey North	17,674	32.8	13,412	24.9	19,940	37.0			2,855	5.3	53,881
Surrey—White Rock	26,319	43.5	14,217	23.5	14,725	24.3			5,270	8.7	60,531
Vancouver Centre	23,620	37.3	14,447	22.8	23,351	36.8			1,991	3.1	63,409
Vancouver East	6,116	15.6	11,692	29.8	20,034	51.1			1,359	3.5	39,201
Vancouver Quadra	16,664	30.5	24,021	44.0	11,687	21.4			2,282	4.2	54,654
Vancouver South	21,222	42.2	14,507	28.8	11,939	23.7			2,626	5.2	50,294
Victoria	17,660	29.9	12,617	21.4	22,399	38.0			6,323	10.7	58,999
Province Totals	527,767	34.4	326,801	21.3	567,732	37.0	1,169	0.1	111,548	7.3	1,535,017
Rejected											5,560
Total Vote Cast											1,540,577

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (32)

RP	=	75,381	30
CHP	=	15,097	12
GP	=	9,104	20
Libert.	=	4,719	16
Rhino	=	3,326	11
Comm.	=	1,320	12
Ind.	=	1,222	8
None	=	1,198	11
CRWP	=	158	3
Com'lth.	=	23	1

Table 13–21 British Columbia Provincial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1937–1986

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
June 1, 1937	8	16.7	119,521	28.6	31	64.6	156,074	37.3	7	14.6	119,400	28.6
October 21, 1941	12	25.0	140,282	30.9	21	43.8	149,525	32.9	14	29.2	151,400	33.4
October 25, 1945	***	***	***	***	37	77.1	261,147	59.7	10	20.8	175,960	37.6
June 15, 1949	***	***	***	***	39	81.3	428,773	63.6	7	14.6	245,284	35.1
June 12, 1952	4	8.3	129,439	16.8	6	12.5	180,289	23.5	18	37.5	236,562	30.8
June 9, 1953	1	2.1	40,780	5.6	4	8.3	171,671	23.6	14	29.2	224,513	30.8
September 19, 1956			25,373	3.1	2	3.8	177,922	21.8	10	19.2	231,511	28.3
September 12, 1960			66,943	6.7	4	7.7	208,249	20.9	16	30.8	326,094	32.7
September 30, 1963			109,090	11.3	5	9.6	193,363	20.0	14	26.9	269,004	27.8
September 12, 1966			1,409	0.2	6	10.9	152,155	20.2	16	29.1	252,753	33.6
August 27, 1969			1,087	0.1	5	9.1	186,235	19.0	12	21.8	331,813	33.9
August 30, 1972	2	3.6	143,450	12.7	5	9.1	185,640	16.4	38	69.1	448,260	39.6
December 11, 1975	1	1.8	49,796	3.9	1	1.8	93,379	7.2	18	32.7	505,396	39.2
May 10, 1979			71,078	5.1			6,662	0.5	26	45.6	646,184	46.0
May 5, 1983			19,131	1.2			44,442	2.7	22	38.6	741,354	44.9
October 22, 1986			14,074	0.7			130,505	6.7	22	31.9	824,544	42.6
Totals and Means	28	3.3		7.8	166	19.6		23.5	264	33.9		35.3

¹CCF through 1959.
²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.
***The Liberals and Conservatives formed a coalition in 1945 and 1949. Their combined results are tallied in the Liberal column, but are not computed into the aggregate means for vote and seat percentages.

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
				2	4.2	22,934	5.5	48	417,929
				1	2.1	12,646	2.8	48	453,893
		6,627	1.4	1	2.1	24,013	5.1	48	467,747
		8,464	1.2	2	4.2	16,302	2.3	48	698,823
19	39.6	209,049	27.2	1	2.1	13,222	1.7	48	768,561
28	58.3	274,771	37.8	1	2.1	16,104	2.2	48	727,839
39	75.0	374,711	45.8	1	1.9	7,880	1.0	52	817,397
32	61.5	386,886	38.8			8,232	0.8	52	996,404
33	63.5	395,079	40.8			1,139	0.1	52	967,675
33	60.0	342,751	45.6			2,808	0.4	55	751,876
38	69.1	457,777	46.8			1,444	0.1	55	978,356
10	18.2	352,776	31.2			2,046	0.2	55	1,132,172
35	63.6	635,482	49.2			6,398	0.5	55	1,290,451
31	54.4	677,607	48.2			3,542	0.3	57	1,405,077
35	61.4	820,807	49.8			23,799	1.4	57	1,649,533
47	68.1	954,516	49.3			11,814	0.6	69	1,935,453
380	44.9		25.9	9	1.1		1.4	847	

Having achieved separate voting status in time for the 1953 elections, the Northwest Territories is quite possibly the largest inhabited area of the world with the least national representation. Making up some 35 percent of Canada's total land area, with well over 3 million square kilometers, the Northwest Territories had one representative in Ottawa until 1979, and now has two. Each riding (Nunatsiak or the Eastern Arctic,¹ and the Western Arctic) has a population of roughly 20,000, as compared to a national average of more than 75,000. The members of Parliament therefore have an enormous task trying to meet their constituents and representing them in Ottawa.

In such a situation it is difficult to discuss an electoral or party "system" *qua* system. The presence of a strong party organization for either party would be problematical at best, given both the extreme distances involved and the difficulties in establishing face-to-face communications. Rather, considering the extreme isolation of most of Northwest Territories settlements, it is more likely than not that voters either carry forward their own parochial attachments, or that, through exposure to national (and American)² media, they reflect prevailing trends, as individually perceived. It is also essential to point out that, with only two constituencies, the results may very well reflect not an organization of the electorate by a political party *per se*, but attachments to or rejections of individual incumbents. Clearly, these cautionary notes also apply to the Yukon as well.³

The NWT emerges, in its brief national electoral history, as a true multiparty area. The Progressive Conservatives (5 seats), the Liberals (8 seats), and the NDP (4 seats) have been able to win representation in Commons. Of interest

here is the fact that, for 6 of the first 7 elections (1953–68), the Liberals were able to win, and by rather handsome margins, even resisting the tide of the 1958 Diefenbaker victory by giving the Liberal incumbent more than 57 percent. In the 6 elections starting with 1972, however, the Liberals have been able to exceed a third of the vote only 3 times, losing initially to the NDP, which was able to win seats in 4 straight elections, and then to the Tories, who first won in 1979, when the territory acquired its second seat. It should also be noted that the right-wing policies of Social Credit scarcely proved attractive to NWT voters, having fielded only one candidate in the 13 elections.

The two major parties have contested all seats since NWT started sending its own Member of Parliament to Commons. The NDP first contested for a seat in 1965 and has run a candidate for every election since then, first winning in 1974.

For the most part, NWT federal elections have been decided within fairly narrow margins, as more than half have been decided by margins of less than 10 percent of the vote. There has been a trend, in fact, for the elections to be decided by narrow margins since, during the Liberal's period of winning, margins were generally greater than 10 percent.

Territorial government is conducted on a non-partisan basis, with 22 members in the Legislative Assembly. Hence, we cannot compare national with local results.

Notes

1. It is worth noting that Nunatsiak has sent the first Inuit to Commons. In this vein, the Inuit now have one member in the appointive Senate.

2. See Andrew H. Malcolm, *The Canadians* (New York: Times Books, 1985), pp. 31–32, on the Northern Service of CBC and how American content may be routinely broadcast to the Inuit. This does not take into account the use of satellite dishes and the reception of explicitly American channels.
3. Granting the small numbers involved, both the NWT and the Yukon have experienced a relatively high degree of incumbents standing for and winning reelection. Their combined rate of winning reelection was 84.6 percent, 1935–68, and 90 percent, 1972–84.

Table 14–1 Northwest Territories—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1953			1,344	38.5	1	100.0	1,722	49.4				
1957			1,253	31.8	1	100.0	2,686	68.2				
1958			2,080	42.8	1	100.0	2,782	57.2				
1962			3,519	42.4	1	100.0	3,842	46.2				
1963	1	100.0	4,814	56.8			3,659	43.2				
1965			3,615	39.1	1	100.0	5,194	56.2			431	4
1968			2,211	23.4	1	100.0	6,018	63.8			1,203	12
1972			4,339	30.9			4,121	29.3	1	100.0	5,597	39
1974			4,271	33.2			3,173	24.7	1	100.0	5,410	42
1979	1	50.0	5,410	32.3			5,714	34.1	1	50.0	5,348	31
1980	1	50.0	3,998	24.7			5,802	35.8	1	50.0	6,225	38
1984	2	100.0	8,059	41.3			5,254	26.9			5,511	28
1988			5,585	26.4	2	100.0	8,771	41.4			5,993	28
Totals and Means	5	29.4		35.7	8	47.1		44.3	4	23.5		17

¹CCF through 1958.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 14–2 Northwest Territories—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1953	1	1				1		1										1				3	1
1957	1	1				1	1															2	
1958	1	1				1	1															2	
1962	1	1				1	1							1								3	
1963	1	1		1		1			1													2	1
1965	1	1			1	1		1		1												3	1
1968	1	1				1	1			1												3	
1972	1	1				1			1	1		1										3	1
1974	1	1				1				1	1											3	
1979	2	2		1		2				2	1											6	1
1980	2	2	1			2				2	1							1				7	
1984	2	2	1	1		2				2			1					1				7	1
1988	2	2			2	2		2		2								2				8	2
Totals	17	17	2	3	3	17	4	4	2	12	3	1	1	1				5				52	8

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
						421	12.1	1	3,487
								1	3,939
								1	4,862
		948	11.4					1	8,309
								1	8,473
								1	9,240
								1	9,432
								1	14,057
								1	12,854
						273	1.6	2	16,745
						180	1.1	2	16,205
						686	3.5	2	19,510
						833	3.9	2	21,182
			0.9				1.7	17	

Table 14-3 Northwest Territories—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0- 100.0	Total Seats
1953			1				1
1957						1	1
1958			1				1
1962	1						1
1963			1				1
1965				1			1
1968						1	1
1972	1						1
1974		1					1
1979	2						2
1980	1	1					2
1984	1			1			2
1988		1		1			2
Totals	6	3	3	3		2	15
Means	35.3	17.6	17.6	17.6		11.8	

Table 14–4 Northwest Territories—1979 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Nunatsiaq	1,352	26.0	1,887	36.3	1,963	37.7					5,202
Western Arctic	4,058	35.2	3,827	33.2	3,385	29.3			273	2.4	11,543
Territorial Total	5,410	32.3	5,714	34.1	5,348	31.9			273	1.6	16,745
Rejected											114
Total Vote Cast											16,859

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (2)
Ind. = 273 1

Table 14–5 Northwest Territories—1980 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Nunatsiaq	442	7.8	2,377	41.8	2,688	47.3			180	3.2	5,687
Western Arctic	3,556	33.8	3,425	32.6	3,537	33.6					10,518
Territorial Total	3,998	24.7	5,802	35.8	6,225	38.4			180	3.2	16,205
Rejected											114
Total Vote Cast											16,319

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (2)
Rhino = 180 1

Table 14–6 Northwest Territories—1984 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Nunatsiaq	2,237	32.5	1,990	28.9	1,973	28.7			686	10.0	6,886
Western Arctic	5,822	46.1	3,264	25.9	3,538	28.0					12,624
Territorial Total	8,059	41.3	5,254	26.9	5,511	28.2			686	3.5	19,510
Rejected											128
Total Vote Cast											19,638

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (2)
Ind. = 686 1

Table 14–7 Northwest Territories—1988 Election Results by Riding

Riding	Prog. Cons.		Liberal		NDP		Social Credit		Other		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Nunatsiaq	1,928	22.9	3,356	39.9	2,786	33.2			333	4.0	8,403
Western Arctic	3,657	28.6	5,415	42.4	3,207	25.1			500	3.9	12,779
Territorial Total	5,585	26.4	8,771	41.4	5,993	28.3			833	3.9	21,182
Rejected											134
Total Vote Cast											21,316

Vote Cast for "Other": Ridings (2)
Ind. = 833 2

Like the Northwest Territories, it is difficult to consider the Yukon in terms of a party "system," given the small numbers of people and the great area involved. The same could also be said about the small numbers of elected representatives, as we shall see.

For the most part the Yukon has been a Progressive Conservative stronghold, but a two-party "system" nonetheless. Certainly, the fact that the Tories have won 13 of the 17 available seats would be suggestive of this, especially since other parties, the CCF/NDP included, have not been evident in all elections and do not typically produce a large share of the votes.

In the case of the Yukon one could argue that the ostensibly conservative position of the Tories is consistent with the frontier mentality which values individual initiative. Of course, the same could also be said of the Liberal or CCF/NDP policy positions, which stress the role of the community in helping others. Regardless, there is an empirical fact which makes it difficult if not impossible to sort out the effects of party, candidate, and issue positions. Simply put, there have been only 17 elections in the period we study, and the Yukon has elected only 5 different persons to Commons in this time. One, in particular, shows the difficulties involved. Starting in 1958, Erik Nielsen won the first of 10 elections to date as a Progressive Conservative. Was he elected as a Tory, or because of his own candidate qualities, or because of certain policy positions? While it is often difficult to sort out the effects of party and candidate qualities, for instance,¹ it is even more difficult when there is only one candidate, and that person always wins!

Both major parties have contested every election, and third-party candidacies have been notable by their absence. At that, the results suggest that the Yukon may be reasonably competitive, since 35.3 percent of the seats have been won by margins of less than 10 percent.

The Yukon first had partisan elections to the Territorial Legislative Assembly in 1978 and has had two subsequent elections. Hence, we are dealing with small numbers again. In these three, the Tories have had majorities twice, and it would seem that the Yukon can be described as a two-and-a-half or a three-party system, with the Liberals the weakest of the three. Three Independents have also been elected.

Note

1. William P. Irvine, "Does the Candidate Make a Difference?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 15 (December 1982), 755-82.

Table 15-1 Yukon—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1935–1988

Year	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP ¹			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1935	1	100.0	696	55.6			555	44.4				
1940	1	100.0	915	53.6			793	46.4				
1945	1	100.0	849	40.0							584	27
1949					1	100.0	3,284	49.0			1,140	17
1953			590	15.7	1	100.0	2,176	57.8				
1957			2,358	49.3	1	100.0	2,422	50.7				
1958	1	100.0	2,947	54.5			2,340	43.3				
1962	1	100.0	3,250	55.0			2,664	45.0				
1963	1	100.0	2,969	49.6			2,455	41.0				
1965	1	100.0	3,136	55.2			2,546	44.8				
1968	1	100.0	3,110	48.0			3,048	47.0			325	5
1972	1	100.0	4,332	53.0			2,633	32.2			951	11
1974	1	100.0	3,913	47.1			2,784	33.5			1,618	19
1979	1	100.0	4,538	44.6			3,065	30.1			2,578	25
1980	1	100.0	3,926	40.6			3,825	39.6			1,918	19
1984	1	100.0	6,648	56.8			2,535	21.7			1,884	16
1988			4,524	35.3			1,450	11.3	1	100.0	6,594	51
Totals and Means	13	76.5		42.3	3	17.6		36.8	1	5.9		8

¹CCF through 1958.

²Includes Independents, those with no party designation, and others.

Table 15-2 Yukon—Seats Contested, Retained, Gained, and Lost, by Year and Party

Year	Total Seats	Prog. Cons.				Liberal				CCF/NDP				Social Credit				Others				Total Candi- dates	Total Changing Seats
		C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L	C	R	G	L		
1935	1	1	1			1																2	
1940	1	1	1			1																2	
1945	1	1	1							1								1				3	
1949	1				1	1		1	1									1				3	1
1953	1	1				1	1							1								3	
1957	1	1				1	1															2	
1958	1	1		1		1			1									1				3	1
1962	1	1	1			1																2	
1963	1	1	1			1								1								3	
1965	1	1	1			1																2	
1968	1	1	1			1				1												3	
1972	1	1	1			1			1									1				4	
1974	1	1	1			1			1													3	
1979	1	1	1			1			1													3	
1980	1	1	1			1			1													3	
1984	1	1	1			1			1									1				4	
1988	1	1			1	1			1	1								1				4	1
Totals	17	16	12	1	2	16	2	1	2	9				2				6				49	3

Social Credit				Other ²				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
								1	1,251
								1	1,708
						687	32.4	1	2,120
						2,283	34.0	1	6,707
		998	26.5					1	3,764
								1	4,780
						122	2.3	1	5,409
								1	5,914
		560	9.4					1	5,984
								1	5,682
								1	6,483
						252	3.1	1	8,168
								1	8,315
								1	10,181
								1	9,669
						637	5.4	1	11,704
						255	2.0	1	12,823
			2.2				4.8	17	

Table 15-3 Yukon—Seats Won by Percentage Point Margins

Year	0.1 -4.9	5.0 -9.9	10.0 -14.9	15.0 -19.9	20.0 -24.9	25.0— 100.0	Total Seats
1935		1					1
1940		1					1
1945			1				1
1949				1			1
1953						1	1
1957				1			1
1958			1				1
1962			1				1
1963		1					1
1965		1					1
1968	1						1
1972					1		1
1974			1				1
1979			1				1
1980	1						1
1984						1	1
1988						1	1
Totals	2	4	5	2	1	3	17
Means	11.8	23.5	29.4	11.8	5.9	17.6	

Table 15-4 Yukon Territorial Elections—Summary of Votes Received and Seats Won, 1978–1985

Province	Progressive Conservative				Liberal				CCF/NDP			
	Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
November 20, 1978	11	68.8	2,869	37.1	2	12.5	2,201	28.5	1	6.3	1,568	20.0
June 7, 1982	9	56.3	4,770	45.8			1,564	15.0	6	37.5	3,689	35.0
May 13, 1985	6	37.5	4,948	46.9	2	12.5	806	17.6	8	50.0	4,335	41.0
Totals and Means	26	54.2		43.3	4	8.3		17.0	15	31.3		32.0

¹Includes Independents only.

Social Credit				Other ¹				Total	
Seats		Votes		Seats		Votes		Seats	Votes
Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
				2	12.5	1,096	14.2	16	7,734
				1	6.3	393	3.8	16	10,416
						458	4.3	16	10,547
				3	6.3		1.7	48	

Selected Bibliography

Key for Journal Entries

AJPH = *Australian Journal of Politics and History*
AJPS = *American Journal of Political Science*
AJS = *American Journal of Sociology*
Annals = *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*
APSR = *American Political Science Review*
ARCS = *American Review of Canadian Studies*
ASR = *American Sociological Review*
BJPS = *British Journal of Political Science*
BJS = *British Journal of Sociology*
CF = *Canadian Forum*
CH = *Current History*
CHR = *Canadian Historical Review*
CJEPS = *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*
CJP = *Canadian Journal of Psychology*
CJPS = *Canadian Journal of Political Science*
CP = *Comparative Politics*
CPA = *Canadian Public Administration*
CPR = *Canadian Parliamentary Review*
CPS = *Comparative Political Studies*
CR = *Contemporary Review*
CRPA = *Canadian Review of Public Administration*
CRSA = *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*
DR = *Dalhousie Review*
EJPE = *European Journal of Political Economy*
EJPR = *European Journal of Political Research*
ERS = *Ethnic and Racial Studies*
ES = *Electoral Studies*
FA = *Foreign Affairs*
ISSJ = *Institute of Socioeconomic Studies Journal*
IJ = *International Journal*
IPSR = *International Political Science Review*
JCS = *Journal of Canadian Studies*
JCPS = *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*

JOP = *Journal of Politics*
JO = *Journalism Quarterly*
LSO = *Legislative Studies Quarterly*
LUR = *Lakehead University Review*
MJPS = *Midwest Journal of Political Science*
NCR = *National Civic Review*
PA = *Parliamentary Affairs*
PNO = *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*
POLA = *Political Affairs*
POLSC = *Political Science*
POQ = *Public Opinion Quarterly*
PO = *Political Quarterly*
PS = *Political Studies*
PSO = *Political Science Quarterly*
PUBAD = *Public Administration*
QQ = *Queen's Quarterly*
RP = *Review of Politics*
SAO = *South Atlantic Quarterly*
SF = *Social Forces*
SR = *Social Research*
TRSC = *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*
UTO = *University of Toronto Quarterly*
UWR = *University of Windsor Review*
WPO = *Western Political Quarterly*

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